A K. J. Kard Land

FULL AND ACCURATE

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REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES

IN THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND,

IN THE SESSION 1793;

ON

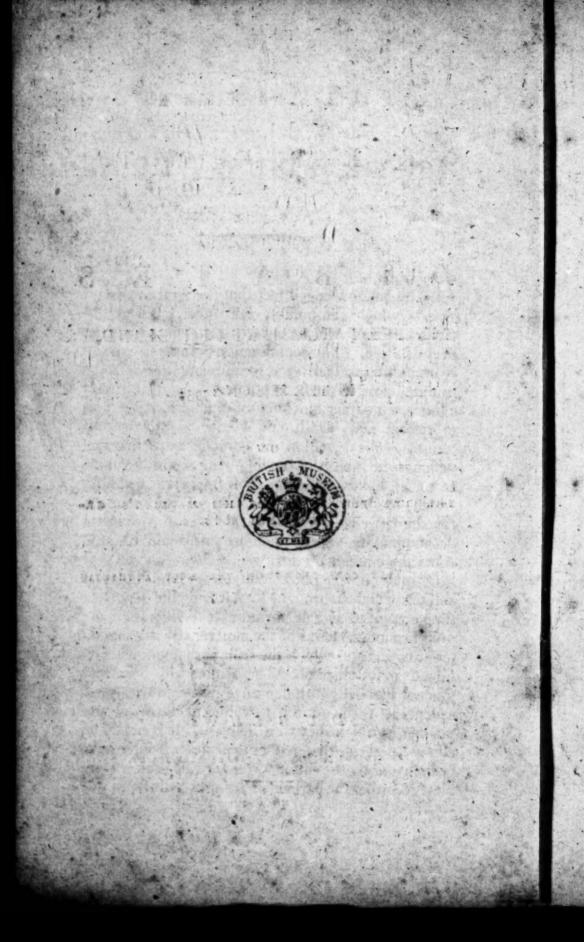
THE BILL FOR RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S CA-

IMPARTIALLY COLLATED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. JONES, NO. III, GRAPTON-STREET.

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INTRODUCTION.

1T is an acknowledged fact that the most important objects which can possibly fall under political difcustion are those which concern the rights and liberties of the people. The confideration of them is fo deeply interesting to society, as to infinuate itself into the minutest pore of the body politic, where, tho' it may effect a temporary quickness of pulsation, never fails to restore new health and vigour to the consti-The question of catholic emancipation, which is the subject of the following report, is allowed on all hands to be the most important measure. which has engaged the attention of this country. for the last century, and the debates in parliament occasioned by its discussion are justly said to hold equal pre-eminence; for whether we confider the magnitude of the object, the uncommon display of abilities which it brought forward, or the length of time employed in this memorable deliberation, we must pronounce it one of the most remarkable and interesting debates which the Irish parliament has furnished an instance of. The reader will here find some of the best argumentative and oratorical precedents in a stile entirely new, and in the order and manner in which they were delivered. It is hoped he also will perceive that neither expense or trouble have been spared by the editor to render this book a complete record of the parliamentary proceedings on this

a 2

great occasion. During the last session the catholics of Ireland applied to the legislature for a redress of their grievatices, which proved ineffectual; their rightful claims were resisted, but the justice of them remained in full force, and seemed rather to acquire

new rigour.

Mills of "

It was faid that the applications for relief did not come from the great body of the Catholics, but from a few inconsiderable persons; a just cause never fails to suggest the means of attaining its true level, the gentlemen who conducted the Catholic business, set about removing the objection; and as the first step towards it, agreed upon the following plan, as the most likely means of obtaining the general sense, and which we now annex, as it will be found frequently alluded to in the following sheets,

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SA SA CARREST CONTRACTOR

Circular letter addressed to the Catholic gentlemen of the kingdom of Ireland, with a plan for electing delegates.

"SIR.

This letter with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the Subcommittee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to affift, by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the Committee to procure for the Catholics the Elective Franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the Trial by Jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county.-You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent confultations, for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the Committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the fatisfaction to find, that the general committee on one fide, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division; which they saw was used by the

the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the Elective Franchife, and an equal participation of the benefits of the Trial by Jury. It is on all fides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, effential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success ! it depends then on ourselves whether we shall be-Freemen or Slaves We fay, effential to the very existence of our people; for, as the rage for electioneering interest increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or refign them to Protestant freeholders when out of leafe; our poorer yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice-and we shall receive it.

- "These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the General Committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.
- "The committee had decided to fend some of their body, to propose to the counties to appoint Delegates to the Committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty; and our Chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through a great part of Ireland for this purpose; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took

took up the fame idea themselves, (before they knew the Committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in preffing such a measure on the Committee, as an additional cause of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined that the present Committee should be dissolved; an opinion, however, which surther resection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the Committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

"The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the General Committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal, and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execu-

tion in your county.

other spirit and the selection

"I am, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"EDWARD BYRNE."

Delegates were accordingly elected, and having repaired to Dublin, affembled at the Taylor's-Hall, on the 3d of December, 1792; where after some days spent in discussing the objects of their important mission, among other measures adopted, was a petition to the throne, which the following members were appointed to carry to the king; Mr. Edward Byrne, Mr. John Keogh, Mr. James Edward Devereux, Mr. Christopher Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, Bart. The Petition was in these words:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MA-JESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on bebalf of themselves and the rest of the Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your Majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars, and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and sidelity to your Majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, insticting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your Majesty, that notwithstanding the lowest departments in your Majesty's sleets and armies, are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your Majesty in any office

nation thus folemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in a furrender of their arms, and a great part of this. kingdom, and notwithflanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the faid treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the faid right of elective franchife was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, fo lately as the first year of his Majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus prefume to fubmit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majefty's Royal notice it is not that we ourselves confider it to be the strong part of our case; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no fuch event as the faid treaty had ever taken place, your Majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your Majesty's Government in this country, as well as in their personal service in your Majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and juffly entitled to participate and enjoy the bleffings of the Constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, fubmitted our grievances to your Majesty, permit us, Most gracious Sovereign, again to represent our fincere attachment to the Conflitution, as eftablished in three estates of Kings, Lords, and Commons, our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanor, and fubmission to the laws for one hundred years, and our determination to perfevere in the fame dutiful conduct, which has, under your Majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal flatutes, which the wifdom of

the Legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant.—We humbly prefume to hope, that your Majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament of Ireland to take into confideration the whole of our fivuation. our numbers, our merits, and our fufferings, and as we do not give place to any of your Majesty's fubjects in loyalty and attachment to your Majefty's facred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of bein reftored to the rights and privileges of the Constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majesty that service which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majesty transmit to your latest posterity a crown secured by public advantage and public affection;—and so may your Royal Person become more dear, if possible, to your grateful people.

[This petition was figured by the Delegates from the different counties, cities, and principal towns of Ireland, on behalf of themfelves and the Catholics of Ireland.]

On the 2d January, 1793, the deputies presented the petition to his majesty at St. James's; what followed will best appear in the report here offered to the public:

GENERAL COMMITTEE

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

and the second for your to

CITY OF DUBLIN.

ST. AUDEON.

Richard Dillon, Bridge-ftreet. Thomas Kennedy, Corn Mar-Denis Thomas O'Brien, Merchants-quay.

ket. Jonas Lynch, Ufher's-quay.

ST. JAMES.

Patrick Greahan, James-street. James Murphy, Ditto. Thomas Glannan, Watling- John White, Ditto. ffreet.

ST. PAUL

James Farrell, Smithfield. L Alexander Lyons, Arranquay.

William Clarke, King-ftreet, Oxmantown. Joseph Andrews, Churchftreet.

ST. CATHARINE.

Patrick Bean, Thomas-street- Richard Walsh, Thomas-street. John Kearney, Braithwait- Edward Lewins, Thomas-street.

ST. MARY.

Andrew Daly, M. D. Dominick-fireet.

Nicholas Elcock, M. D. Great Simon M'Guire, Batchelor's-Britain-fireet.

Walk.

ST. NICHOLAS (WITHIN.)

John Ball, Werburgh-street. Thomas M'Donnell, Essexflreet. William Hyland, Back-lane.

ST. NICHOLAS (WITHOUT.)

Patrick Sweetman, Stephen's- Thomas Reynolds, West Parkgreen, South. ftreet. Patrick Marsh, Brides-alley. Christopher Kelly, Mill-street.

ST. ANDREW.

John Sweetman, Stephen's Michael Boylan, Graftongreen, Weft.

John Gorman Kennedy, King-Breet, Stephen's-green.

James Connolly, Fleet-firest

ST. MICHAN.

Thomas Braughall, Eccles- John Comerford, Dorfetfireet. John Sutton. Charles Ryan, Church-fireet.

COUNTIES.

COUNTY KILDARB.

Thomas Fitzgerald, Geraldine, Athy. Charles Aylmer, Painestown. John Esmonde, Olberstown. Christopher Nangle, Garriker. James Archbold, Davidstown. Randall Macdonnell, Allen'scourt.

CANADA STATE

QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Morgan Kavanagh, Gracefield, No. 4, North Earlftreet. James Warren, Killeen, Carlow. James Dunn, Ballynakili. William Dunn, Vicarstown, Athy. J. T. B. Anderson, Cullenagh, Ballinakill. Edward Byrne, Jun. Great Georges-street, North. Thomas Warren, Ash-street.

COUNTY LBITRIM.

Miles Keon, Keon-Brooke, Carrick-on-Shannon. Hugh O'Berne, Jamestown, Ditto.

John O'Donnell, Larkfield, Carrick-on-Shannon, John Reogh, Mount Jerome-Robert Dillon, Francis-ffreet.

COUNTY ROSCOMMON.

Owen O'Connor, Belanagare, Roscommon.

John Fallon, Kunnimade, Ditto.

James Plunkett, Rinnard, Elphin.

John Tyrrell Byrne, Castlemine, Roscommon. Malachy Fallon, Balling, Athlone.

John Farrell, Bloomfield,
Stroukstown.

Edward Byrne, Gt. George'sstreet, North.

Thomas Ryan, M. D. ArranQuay.

COUNTY FERMANAGH.

ames Kiernan, Enniskillen. Philip Maguire, Ditto. Richard Mackin, Brookborrow. Constantine Maguire.

Terence Maguire, Parliament-Richard Kiernan, M. D. Capel-ftreet.

COUNTY SLIGO.

Ignatius Everard, Sligo. Patrick Mullarky, Colgagh. John M'Donough, Heapstown.

Hugh M'Dermott, Coolevin, Charles O'Connor, Mount Allen, Carrick-on-Shannon. John Byrne. James Aylward, Francis-ftreet.

COUNTY LONGFORD.

Christopher Nugent, Killifona, Granard. Valentine Dillon, Ballyma-Bernard O'Reilly, Granard.

Edward M'Evoy, Ditto. John Weldon, Dame-ftreet. John O'Reilly, Williamftreet.

COUNTY WEXFORD.

James E. Devereux, Carrig- Edward Hay, Ballinkeel, Enniscorthy. Harvey Hay, Ballinkeel, En- Edward Sweetman, Wexford. niscorthy.

COUNTY DOWN.

John O'Neill, Banville. Hugh Savage, Ballyvarley. Samuel Norris, Strangford. John Maginnis. Thomas Savage. James Kenny, Stephen-ftreet

COUNTY CARLOW.

Walter Fitzgerald, Ballaragin, Caftledermott. William Blakeney, Dunleckney, Laughlin-bridge. William Finn, Carlow.

James Cullen, Ravilly, Tullagh. Thomas Warren, Ash-street. Edward Butler, Fishamble ftreet.

COUNTY ANTRIM

Luke Teeling, Lifburn. Edmund Magilldoney, Ballycaftle.

Bernard O'Neill, Ecclesftreet. Oliver O'Hara, Abbey-ftreet. COUNTY

COUNTY ARMAGH.

Charles Whittington. Owen O'Callaghan.

Theobald M'Kenna, M. D. Dorfet-ftreet-

TYRONE. COUNTY

Thomas Richard Geraghty, John Byrne, Great George's-Dungannon. ftreet. Terence O'Neile, Ballygawly. John Fairfield, Werburgh-ft.

COUNTY CAVAN.

Tames Palles, Stafford-ftreet. Hugh O'Reilly, Cavan-Edward Dowell, Kileshandra.

COUNTY CLARE.

James O'Gorman, Ennis. Daniel O'Connel, Ayle, EnFrancis M'Mahon, Crevagh, Ennis. Nicholas Mahon, Merchantsquay.

COUNTY WICKLOW.

Walter Byrne, Killoghter. Thomas Fitzfimmons, Glancullen. William Graham, Arklow.

Richard Doyle, Lemonstown. Kilcullen. Patrick Kavanagh Peter Brady, New-row.

COUNTY of the CITY of KILKENNY.

Constantine Laughlin, Kil- Joseph Laffan, Kilkenny. kenny, John Sharman, Ditto. John Murphy, Ditto.

Thomas Braughall, Ecclesftreet. Thomas Warren, Ash-ftreet.

COUNTY of the TOWN of GALWAY.

E. L. Athy, Renville, Galway. W. J. M'Nevin, M. D. Jer-Dennis Blake, Oran Caftle, vis-ftreet. ditto.

COUNTY of the TOWN and LORDSHIP of NEWRY. Mark Develin. James Reily.

COUNTY

COUNTY LOUTH

Patrick Byrne. Patrick Ruffell. R. M'Donnell, Allen's-Court.

Thomas Braughall, Ecclesftreet.

CITY and COUNTY of CORK.

William Coppinger, Barry's Court. John Terry, Caftle Terry. John Galway, Thornhill, Middleton. Nicholas T. Coppinger.

David Rochford. Bryan Sheehy. Edward Byrne, Great George's fireet North. D. T. O'Brien, Merchant's Quay.

COUNTY GALWAY.

tle-French. Christopher Bellew, Mount Bellew.

Sir Thomas French, Bart. Caf- Christopher Bellew, Abbeyftreet.

COUNTY MONAGHAN.

Patrick Carolan. James Carolan. Bartholomew Clinton. Thomas Braughall. Daniel Reilly, M. D. Hugh Hamill.

KILLALA, COUNTY MAYO. Theobald Mahon, Caftle-Hill. Nicholas Friagerald, Rathlea.

CITY of GASHELL Edmund Scully, Cashell. John Harrington, ditto.

CITY of WATERFORD.

John Blakeney, Waterford. Richard M'Kenna. Thomas Quan, ditto. Theobald M'Kenna, M. D. Bar. Rivers. Dorset-street.

COUNTY LIMERICK.

Bryan Sheehy, Garden Field: Thomas Braughall, Eccles-William Burke, Modaway. ftreet. Roger Keating Sheehy, Drum-Richard M'Cormick, Mark's Alley. coghler. CITY

CITY of LIMBRICK.

Sylvester O'Halloran, M. D. Jasper White, ditto-Limerick. Francis Arthur, ditto-

COUNTY of TIPPERARY.

Laurence Smith,
James Scully, Kilfaine, Tipperary.
John Lawlor, Cranagh, Templetown.

Dennis O'Maher, Ballymorres.
Thomas Mahon, Merchant's
Quay.
Thomas Fitzfimons, Ecclesftreet.

COUNTY MAYO.

Dominick Creane Lynch, Boolebeg.

Edward Dillon, Holywell.

John Nolan, Logboyne.

James Joseph M'Donnell,
Ross-begg.

R. Macdonnall, Allen's Court.
Thomas Braughall, Ecclesfireet.

COUNTY MEATH.

Bar. Barnewell, Grananstown.
James Nangle, Kildalky.
Michael Johnston, Warenstown.

Richard Barnewell, Bloomsburry.

Thomas Ryan, Arran-QuayW. J. M'Nevin, Jervis-street.

COUNTY of DUBLIN.

Peter Farrell, Bolton-ftreet.
Patrick Thunder, Ballely.
Patrick Smith.

Barry Lawless, Shankile.
Henry Thunder, Dame-ftreet.
Thomas Segrave.

COUNTY of DONEGAL.

Daniel M'Laughlin.

Andrew M'Shane.

Thomas Braughall, Ecclesftreet.

Richard Dodd, Manor-ffreet.

COUNTY KILKENNY.

Edward Forestel, Water- Edward Sheil.
Richard Boulger, Ballynabarna, N. Ross.

COUNTY

COUNTY KERRY.

Thomas Huffey.

Matthew Moriarty.

COUNTY TYRONE.

Bernard M'Mahon. John Ball, Werburgh-ftreet. Richard Dodd, Manor-ffreet.

KING'S COUNTY.

John Fitfimons, Caftle Wood. Joseph Flanagan.

Awley Magawley, Balliboy. Patrick Oliver Plunkett, Great-George's-ftreet. Francis Bennett.

WESTMEATH.

James Count Nugent, Balli- John Walfh, Mullingar. nacor, Ballymore. Patrick Dowdall. nacor, Ballymore. Michael Dardis.

John M'Cormick, Mullingar,

TOWN of DROGHEDA.

Tames Bird, Drogheda. Roger Hamill, ditto.

Hugh Hamill, Dominickftreet. Garret Dillon, Bridge-ftreet

LONDONDERRY

Andrew M'Shane. Thomas Broughall. Richard Dodd. county Waterford.

John Mansfield, Lodge House Church-on-Suir. Patrick Power, Tulhally. Francis Wife, of the Manor, Richard Power, William'stown.

distant

CITIES AND TOWNS.

CARRICKFERGUS.

Christopher Teeling, M. D. Laurence M'Dermot, Church-Capel-Areet. ftreet.

description and A R. M A G H.

John Byrne.

Randal M'Donnell, Allen's-

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ENNISKILLEN.

Edward Madden Richard Kier Terence M'Guire, Parlia- pel-ftreet. ment-ftreet.

Richard Kiernan, M.D. Capel-firect.

DERRY.

James Byrne.

MONAGHAN.

Daniel Reilly.

WATERFORDS

BONEGAL

James M'Loughlin, St. An- Peter M'Loughlin, St. Andrew-street.

CARLOW.

Thomas Warren, Aft-ftreet. Walter Fitzgerald.

PHILIPSTOWN.

Lewis Flanagan, Abbey-ftreet. James Mullay, Abbey-ftreet.

LONGFORD.

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LONGFORD.

John Hart, James-street: John O'Reily, William-street.

reflected branch

DUNDALK

Thomas Magan, High-street.

TRIM.

Ignatius Weldon, Anderson's- Thomas Lynch, Church-street. court.

MARYBOROUGH.

John Ball, Jun. Werburgh- John Fairfield, Werburghftreet. Henry Johnson, Meath-ftreet.

WEXFORD.

Michael M'Carty, Geoges's John Brett, Jervis-Areet, No. 69. quay.

WICKLOW.

Walter Byrne, Abbey-ftreet.

A Francis . Alken a

ENNIS.

Nicholas Mahon, Merchant's-quay.

CORK.

Edward Byrne, Great George's- Denis Thomas O'Brien, Merchant's-quay. ftreet, North. Patrick Deafe, Ufher's-quay.

TRALE E ANDENE

Dominick Rice.

LIMERICK.

W. Sweetman. Luke Stritch.

Charles Young, New-row, Thomas-street.

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month odda . CLON M. E. L. do a negraditional

James Plunkett, Gt. George's- John Rivers, Batchelor'sftreet, Rutland-fquare. walk. WATERFORD.

WATERFORD.

John Dillon, Francis-street. Richard Byrne.

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t.

Theobald M'Kenna, M. D. Upper Dorset-street. Thomas Kirwan, James-street.

GALWAY.

Malachy O'Connor, Domi- Henry Lynch, New-row. nick-ffreet.

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

Robert Dillon, Francis-street. John O'Reily. James Fitzsimons, Abbey-st.

CASTLE-BAR.

Nicholas Le Fevre, Grafton- Hugh Leonard

ROSCOMMON.

Thomas Ryan, M. D. Arran- George Drew, (Swords) quay.

SLIGO.

John Dunn, Crane-lane.

DROGHEDA.

Hugh Hamill, Dominick-street.

CASHELL

Jeremiah Dwyer.

Thomas Mahon, Merchant's quay.

ATHLONE.

Simon Kelly, Usher's Quay. Francis Bennett, Capel-street, Philipsbourg.

NEWRY.

Charles Dromgoole, Fleet Hugh Hamill.

ENNIS-

ENNISCORTHY.

Paul Houston

Philip Sullivan, Churchftreet.

LOUGHREA.

Matthew Donnelan. Hubert Thomas Dolphin.

TUAM.

Thomas D'Arcy, Abbey-ftreet

BALLYSHANNON.

Thomas Doran, Francis-street. James Kelly, Church-street.

CARRICK on SUIR.

James Aylward, Francis-ftreet. John Donoughoe, Jervisftreet.

DUNGARVEN.

James Dixon, Kilmainham.

ATHY.

Jos. Patrick Cahill, Francis- Garret Fitzgerald. Thomas Fitzgerald. ftreet.

BOYLE.

John M'Loughlan, Usher's-Quay.

NAVAN.

W. J. M'Nevin, M. D. Jer- Edward Geoghegan, Little-Britain-ftreet. vis-ftreet.

BALLYMAHON.

John Weldon, Dame-street- Dennis Cassin, Fleet-street.

NENAGH.

Richard M'Cormick, Mark's-Alley.

THURLES.

THURLES.

Anthony Thompson, Stephen's-Green.

CARRICK M'CROSS.

Richard Browne, Hammond- Gregory Scurlog, Greek-Lane. ftreet.

COLERAINE.

Richard Dodd, Manor-Street.

CASTLEDERMOTT.

Daniel M'Guire, Francis-street.

SWORDS.

Christopher Taylor, Bolton-street.

BELFAST.

Patrick Byrne, Grafton-street. James R. Wiley, Church-Richard Cross, Bridge-street. street.

ATHENRY.

M. F. Lynch.

Anthony French, Abbey-fireet.

ARDEE.

Patrick Byrne, Church-street. William Kindellan.

ROSCREA

John Duffy, Usher's-quay. John Fairfield, Werburgh-

TULLAMORE.

Joseph Byrne.

John Esmond.

ATHBOY.

John O'Neile, Capel-street. Thomas, Burke.

Richard M'Cormick, Sec. to the Gen. Committee.

SUB-COMMITTEE.

and the control of the second

Edward Byrne.

John Keogh.

D. T. O'Brien.

Thomas Braughall.

Richard M'Cormick.

Randal M'Donnell.

Doctor Ryan.

Thomas Fitzgerald.

ST STANSON

Hugh Hamill.

Thomas Warren.

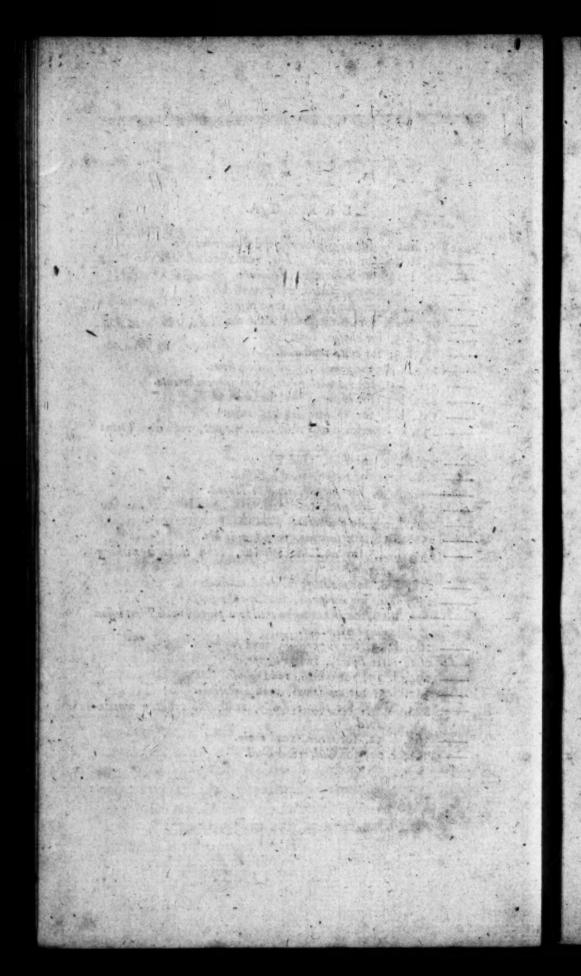
Counfellor Lynch.

John Sweetman, Sec. to the Sub-Committee.

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ERRATA

Page 9, line 8, for ad	vantage, read disadvantage.
14. 1. 30. for dev	oted. The, read devoted, and the.
- 40, l. 13, for abj	ure, read conjure.
49, 1. 2, for ever	hated, read overheated.
59, laft line, for	
- 61, 1. 14, for As	
- 65, 1. 5, for chofe	n. read closer.
- 88, 1. 5, for end,	read and
- 117: l. 4, for fch	cols. read univerfities.
121 l. 0. for retr	enchments, read intrenchments.
123, l. 2, for beca	me. read become.
136, L 8, for of	his: read of mine.
127 l. 25 for a	ccusations does not not, read accusations
do not.	
176, 1. 1, for Thi	e read The
228, 1. 7, for pal	ed read possessed.
, 1. 36, for H	oped read he Hoped.
- 247, l. 1, for pea	L read tiale.
250, l. 27, dele z	phere-
251, L 18, for la	w his read low is his.
257 l A for a	nd nothing but, read there is nothing
whereby.	a morning car, year mark to morning
	iness so, read madness is so-
250, 1.6, for rot	press, read not the press.
l to for W	hat lesson that to a people, read That lesson
to a people,	
260, l. 13, for fu	
261, after liberty,	
294, l. 17, for w	
302, 1. 5, for am	hiting read ambitions
- 202 1 27 for t	his country, read this country was in-
volved.	
- 361, 1. 32, for m	ean, read main.
- 368, 1, 22, for G	ul, read Guil.



REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES On the

ROMAN CATHOLIC BILL, &c.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

William Constitution

THE subject of the following sheets was, on the first day of the session, officially recommended to parliament in the speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant from the throne, where in the tenth paragraph he fays:-

"And I have it in particular command from his majesty, to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such meafures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of fentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subects, in support of the established constitution. "With this view his majesty trusts, that the situa-" tion of his majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your ferious attention, and in the con-ideration of this subject he relies on the wifdom and liberality of his parliament." After After the Lord Lieutenant had quitted the house, the Earl of Westmeath moved an address to the King, which as usual echoed the speech, on which

The Duke of Leinster after expressing his concurrence to the address, declared his particular approbation to that part of the speech which pointed to their lordships attention the situation of the Roman Catholics in this country.

The Earl of Glandore declared his fatisfaction in the prospect which the Roman Catholics had of being relieved. He said, that at a time when other parts of the kingdom were disturbed, he was happy to inform their lordships, the part of the country from whence he came was in a state of the greatest tranquillity.

Lord Donoughmore said, that having taken an early and decided part in favour of the Roman Catholics, he could not be filent when their cause was even mentioned in that house; he therefore, rose to concur in the sentiments which had been expressed in their favour, and which, he was happy to see, so much the sense of the whole house.

The Lord Chancellor said, I trust it is unnecessary for me to state my cordial and hearty concurrence in the resolution which has been moved by my noble friend, to which I should have given my silent assent, if I did not feel it to be peculiarly necessary to relieve the public mind from a series of exaggerated misrepresentations with respect to the Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, which have been impressed upon it with uncommon industry,

duffry, which feem to have been adopted by the two noble lords who spoke last, and which to my utter aftonishment have been laid at the foot of the throne, in the name and on the behalf of that body of the people. When I read in the public prints a paper purporting to be the authorized petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, presented to his Majesty by deputies appointed for the purpose, I did not suppose that any set of men would have dared to approach the throne, with a gross and malignant deception upon the father of his people. But on enquiry I find, that this printed paper is an authentic copy of a petition which has been presented to his majesty, as containing a full and fair statement of harsh and oppressive restrictions, wantonly imposed by the legislature of this country upon his Catholic subjects, and therefore it is that I seize this first opportunity, publicly to detect and reprobate the imposition. It is not my intention at this time, minutely to enter into the claims advanced by our Catholic fellow-subjects; whenever they come distinctly before us, I trust they will receive a fair, candid, and temperate discussion. I have never known a fubject which feems fo peculiarly interesting to this country, for upon a full and dispassionate investigation, and a just decision upon it, will hang the internal peace of Ireland, and her conflitutional connexion with the people of the Protestant empire of Great Britain. For the present it is my intention to confine myself to. the unpardonable missatements of the situation of the Catholic subjects of Ireland, which feem to have had their full effect on the two noble lords, and have most unadvisedly been made to his majefty on their behalf. It has been stated in the B 2 name

name of all the Catholics of Ireland, that they are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of their houses, families, or perfons, whereby they are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and affaffination. The prohibition is flated as general, and without exception; and that the confequence has been, that the whole body are the victims of plunder and affaffination. With respect to the laws made in the reign of King William for difarming papifts, no man who knows the history of Ireland, can hefitate to fay, that felf-defence and felf-prefervation rendered them at that period a measure of hard necessity. But it would have become the men who have taken into their hands the cause of the Catholics, to have stated, that in these laws there is an exception for every man of that perfuasion, who shall obtain a licence from the lord lieutenant and privy council to carry arms; and that fuch a licence, has never in any instance within the memory of man, been denied to a Catholic whose rank and education entitled him to it. And I am forry to fay, that at this hour, fuch is the rude state of the lower order of the people of all religions in Ireland, that if offensive weapons are to be put into their hands, every man of property who lives in the remote districts, whether Catholic or Protestant, will quickly feel to his cost, that he is daily exposed to the violence of burglary and robbery; but the people, rude as they are, I am. fatisfied have a general horror of affaffination. Having thus stated the prohibition, as contravening the great original law of nature, which enjoins felf-defence, they affert that to enforce it, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object;

object; by one of which, enacted within fixteen years, every Catholic subject of any rank or degree, peer or peafant, is compelled to go before a magistrate and convict himself of the fingular offence in a free country of keeping arms for his defence, and in case of his refusal, is liable to the penalties of fine and imprisonment, and to the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillary and whipping. If I had not in the particular fituation of this country, in the year 1787, had occasion to look into the flatute book, to see whether any law existed for restraining the horrid excesses committed at that period in the fouth, against the established elergy, I should have been startled at this bold affertion: to force any man to criminate himself upon oath, on pain of fine, imprisonment, pillory and whipping, would be an outrage upon every principle of natural justice, which would stamp indelible difgrace upon the jurisprudence of this country. To enact fuch a law against an unoffending people, to enforce a general prohibition of felf-defence; would be a high aggravation of outrage, if it were capable of aggravation.

But what will be the aftonishment of every man who hears me, when he knows that this statute which has been thus selected for the purpose of wounding the seelings of both countries, has been most grossly and unpardonably mistated in its original formation, and that it now no longer exists; it was an act passed in the year 1776, to prevent tumultuous risings; when the populace of the south, calling themselves white-boys, were in a state of general tumult, and had committed the most horrid excesses, a clause was inferted in the

act, authorizing magistrates to search for arms and ammunition, and to fummon papifts, who might be suspected to have either in their posses. fion, and oblige them to make discovery on oath where they lay. If they refused to obey the fummons, and to fubmit to answer, they were subject to all the penalties or fines, imprisonment, the pillory and whipping; but there is an express provifo, which follows the clause, that no person shall be convicted, or incur any penalty, for any offence, upon any confession or discovery made on fuch examination; that the examination thus taken, shall not be given in evidence against the person examined, unless he shall be indicted for perjury committed upon his examination. Has it ever been alledged, that this law which was pointed only at a rude and misguided populace, was ever executed against an unoffending man? Or did it ever enter the mind of any man, that this clause was intended to enforce the acts passed in the reign of King William, for difarming papifts? and if any magistrate had presumed to pervert it to this unwarrantable purpose, can there be a doubt, that he would have been feverely punished for his misconduct? But the act which was made on the four of the occasion, to meet a temporary evil, was made a temporary law, and actually expired in the year 1784. And I am forry to fay, that the same excesses which had made this statute necessary, were renewed shortly after the expiration of it, and a new law was made to restrain them, in which, however, there is no provision whatever to enforce the discovery of arms and ammunition in the possession of papists.

Having thus mistated the laws, by which eatholics are restrained in the use of arms, in the same spirit fpirit of exaggerated misrepresentation it is afferted, that no Catholic has any security for his personal estate, inasmuch as the law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child, to conform and deprive him of it. The unhappy father does not even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose. He may be attacked by new bills, if his suture industry be successful, and again be plundered by due course of law.

By the Act of 2d Queen Anne, a conforming child was entitled to a maintenance and portion, to be charged on the personal estate of a Popish parent; if the child thought fit to file a bill in the Court of Chancery for that purpose. But this provision has been in a great measure done away by the Stat. of 17th and 18th Geo. II. And by fubfequent Stat. has in effect been completely defeated. The Stat. 17th and 18th of the king authorifes Catholics to purchase lands for any term not exceeding nine-hundred and ninety-nine years, at any referved rent; and enacts expressly, that no maintenance or portion shall be decreed to a conforming child out of any part of the personal estate of a Popish parent, fave that of such lease, as may be acquired under the powers given by that Act. The idea of the Legislature, in allowing Catholics to purchase lands for terms of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, was to give them in effect the whole beneficial interest in the land, without enabling them to acquire the freehold. But the many advantages both to feller and purchaser, arising from this fort of transfer of land, were foon perceived; and the act of the 21st and 22d of the King, enables Catholics to purchase the freehold and inheritance of lands, as fully and beneficially as any other description of his Majesty's jesty's subjects may do; so that as the law now stands, unless a Catholic shall chuse in purchasing land, to take a lease for 999 years at a nominal rent, pursuant to the act of 17 and 18 of the king, rather than to purchase the inheritance which he may do, there is no species of personal property on which the act of 2d of Anne can operate in favour of a conforming child. It is therefore a rash assertion indeed, conveyed in terms of bitter indignation and complaint, that the disobedient and unnatural child is allowed and encouraged perpetually to disturb the repose of his unhappy father, and again and again to plunder him by the course of law. The fact is, that as the law now stands, the act of queen Anne is in this particular a dead letter; and I do not believe there is a single instance in which it can now be ensorced.

Having thus mistated the laws of which they complain, the persons who act for the Catholics, proceed to accuse the landlords of Ireland of unfeeling and undifcriminate oppression; they affert that at the expiration of their leafes, multitudes of the Catholic tenantry are expelled from their farms to make room for Protestant freeholders. So far as my experience goes, and I think that few men are better acquainted with the fouth of Ireland than I am, where a very great majority of the people are of the Popish religion, I can safely fay, that this statement is utterly unfounded. If the landlords in that diffrict were inclined to this fort of oppression, the situation of the country would most effectually defeat it, for there are not Protestants in the country to occupy the foil. But the great misfortune of Ireland, and particularly of the lower class of its inhabitants, is, that at the expiration

expiration of every leafe, the farm is put up to auction, and without confidering whether he be Protestant or Papist, whether he be industrious or indolent, whether he be folvent or a beggar, the highest bidder is declared the tenant by the lawagent of the estate-I must say to the disgrace of the landlord, and most frequently much to his advantage. It happened to me in the year 1783, to convass the county in which I live, and on an estate which had been newly fet at 26,000l. a year, as I recollect, I found but five protestant tenants. But what are we to fay to the affertion which follows this charge against the landlords of Ireland? That many of his majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly difbelieve. Let me here mark the character which those men give of that body of people who have committed their cause to them ;- They say, that many of their body who have conformed, take oaths against their conviction and confciences; oaths which they utterly difbelieve. The oaths which a conformift takes are the oaths of fupremacy, allegiance, and abjuration. The first we all know a Catholic can't take with a fafe confcience, because he is taught from his cradle, that the ecclefiaftical supremacy of the crown is a prophane usurpation upon the authority of the Pope, derived to him by divine commission. But I would aft, if on conformity, oaths are taken which a Catholic difbelieves, whether is it the oath of allegiance or the oath of abjuration which is against his conviction? By the first he professes his allegiance to his majesty, by the second he disclaims all allegiance

allegiance to the house of Stuart, and their title to the throne. I am myfelf fatisfied, that the Catholic fubjects of Ireland do heartily, willingly and truly take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and the charge made upon them by those who have undertaken the office of their friends and advocates, shews plainly that by deviating from a straight line of truth in their zeal for a discovery of grievances, they have been betrayed into acts of great and unpardonable indifcretion.-Their object feems to be not fo much to obtain a redrefs of any folid grievances which may press upon the persons of the communion, as to milead the people of another country, and to incite the Catholics of Ireland to discontent and tumult; with which view it is, I must presume, that they have been told, that the existing government of this country has been in the habit of committing repeated violations of a folemn treaty, and that the Popery laws enacted here fince the revolution have been enacted in the direct breach of the articles of Limerick. But the popery laws enacted in this country have no more relation to the articles of Limerick than any other code in the flatute book; first it feems to be a perfect new idea, that a general officer at the head of a victorious army, has any power to make a stipulation with a rebellious garrison for civil immunities for any of the king's fubjects, which stipulation is to be binding not only on the existing parliament of this country, if any did exist at the time, but on all future parliaments which should be elected. What the valuable confideration paid by the rebellious garrison could have been, or how it could bind the legislators of the country, I do not comprehend; and if any man can feriously entertain an opinion, that General Ginkle could by any capitulation which he made with the garrison of Limerick, secure to

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the Catholics of Ireland civil immunities beyond the reach of the legislative power of the state, he must entertain a very fingular notion of the British constitution. But the fact is, that not one of the articles of Limerick relates to the whole body of the Catholics but the first, which stipulates for them the same indulgence in the exercise of their religion, which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. and engages for his majefty's good offices with the parliament, to extend to them fuch further indulgences as may be confiftent with the fafety of Ireland. Let the men who complain of a violation of the articles of Limerick, compare the fituation of the Catholics at this day with respect to their religion, with their fituation during the reign of Ch. II.

By the act of fupremacy, 27th Elizabeth, priefts who did not take the oath of fupremacy, and acknowledge their fovereign to be head of the church, were banished the king's dominions; if they returned, they were subject to the penalties of treason-no person to contribute to their maintenance abroad on pain of a præmunire: perfons discovering them in the kingdom, and not informing against them, were subject to fine and imprisonment. No child to be fent abroad for education under the penalty of 100l. subjects who were actually abroad bound to return within fix months, to take the oath of supremacy. The act of uniformity which passed in the reign of Charles II. prohibits altogether the celebration of the mass, and both these statutes were rigidly enforced during the reign of Charles II. infomuch that on the Duke of Ormond's quitting the government of Ireland, there were but 3 Popish Bishops left in this country.

The

The acts of fettlement and explanation imposed farther restraints upon Catholics, which were all rigidly enforced during the reign of Charles H. What is the fituation of the Catholies of Ireland at this day with respect to the exercise of their religion? It is not now barely under connivance, it is put under the protection of the law, upon conditions which are easily performed, and are not complained of, and thereby the real clauses in the acts of supremacy and uniformity, so far as they relate to the exercise of the Popish religion, are, in my opinion, virtually repealed; so that if we are to look to the first article of Limerick, which alone relates to the whole body of the Catholics, I do not fee that they have any founded complaint that it has been violated.

The 2d article of Limerick, which is what they principally rely upon, flipulates, that their estates with all rights and immunities belonging to them shall be reftored. To whom? Not to the whole body of the Catholics, but to the garrisons of Limerick, Athlone, and fome other fortified places, and to officers bearing commissions from James II. These are the persons to whom alone this article extends; and if any doubt could arise upon the construction of it, it has been removed by the act of King William confirming the articles of Limerick, which enacts that this second article shall be conftrued only to reftore the persons comprised in t to their estates as against the king, just as if they had not taken a part in the rebellion, and this too on the express condition that they should be adjudged to be comprifed in the articles of Limerick, within two years from the passing this act; and it is worth observing, that by the military articles of Limerick,

Limerick, an option is given to all perfons entitled to the benefit of the capitulation, to quit the kingdom, and a flipulation is made that they shall be conveyed to France at the king's expence, And it is a fact perfectly well afcertained, that more than 20,000 of the native Irish availed themfelves of the stipulation, and were actually conveyed to France at the expence of the crown. where they chose to settle themselves rather than to live at home under the government of King William. It is therefore a strange affertion to make at this day, that the enacting laws for difarming Papifts, or for difabling them to vote, was a breach of faith by the parliament of Ireland, and an infraction of the articles of Limerick. They could not in their nature bind the parliament, and if they could, nothing in the shape of civil immunity was stipulated by General Ginkle for the whole body of the Roman Catholies. I have thought right thus far to correct the groß and exaggerated mifrepresentations which have gone forth upon this fubject, and which have been in some measure echoed by the two noble lords who fpoke laft, and having been called upon by them, I cannot but state my anxious wish that the account of Catholic grievances may be finally fettled in this fession; no man in the community is more ready than I am to enter coolly and difpassionately into the nature of their claims. I do most solemnly protest, that as an individual, I never have, nor will I ever enquire what may be the religion of any man-If he be an honest man, whatever his religion may be, it shall never influence me in my private dealing, and the more zealous any man is attached to any religion which he professes, the greater confidence shall I always.

be inclined to place in him. But we all know the influence which religion has uniformly had upon the political government of every nation in Europe, and it is in this point of view alone, in which I will ever confider the claims of the Catholics in this house. If there be a clause in the flatute book which reftrains their religious worship—if there be a clause which renders their characters, their persons, or their property less secure than the characters, the persons or the properties of Protestants, let it be repealed; but if any man can be fo wild as to look to a total repeal of the Popery laws of this kingdom—if any can be fo wild as to defire to communicate the efficient power of a free Protestant, to a great majority of the people of Ireland professing the Popish religion, I do not scruple to say that it is an absurd and a wicked speculation—I am fatisfied that so long as the nature of men continues to be what it is, it is utterly impossible that a zealous Catholic can exercife the efficient powers of government in fupport of a Protestant establishment in Ireland, or in support of her connexion with the Protestant empire of Great Britain, and therefore, if I am the fingle man to raife my voice against fuch a project, I will refift it.

It is not to the people who profess the Catholie religion, that I look upon this occasion, it is to the principles of that religion, to which I know they are zealously and superstitiously devoted. The influence which these principles have had upon the political government of every nation in Europe for centuries. If unfortunately for this country, we shall ever be induced to make so fatal an experiment, we may rest assured.

the maintenance of a Protestant establishment, and of our connexion with Great Britain, must once more be put to the iffue of the fword, and whenever the subject recommended to us from the throne, shall come into debate, I will state without referve the grounds upon which I have formed that opinion; I trust however, that no degree of lenity, or rashness, or timidity will ever induce the parliament of Ireland to yield her best security, for the peace and prosperity of the country committed to their care; whatever events may arise, I will perfevere in defending the present constitution of this country, and transmitting it to posterity, and in fo doing, I am fatisfied, that I shall prove the best friend of the people of Ireland, whether Protestants or Catholics.

Lord Donoughmore made a few observations on what the lord chancellor had faid.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JANUARY 10.

THE EARL or TYRONE in the speech with which he presaced his address to the King, in this house, delivered himself as follows, respecting that part of the speech from the throne which concerns the Roman Catholics:

The

The principle upon which this subject is recommended, viz. That of strengthening and comenting the union of all descriptions of subjects in support of the established constitution, must meet the unanimous approbation of this house. No man can object to this principle; and if liberality to our Roman Catholic brethren is likely to promote the success of it, our adopting this line of conduct towards them must be ultimately wife.

The conduct of those persons with whom I have the honour of being connected, has been that of uniform indulgence to the Catholics, until the requifition which was made in the last fessions of parliament, respecting the elective franchife. They refifted the claim at that period, because they imagined that the conduct of certain men of that body did not allow, at that time, a favourable discussion. I consess I persectly agree in the propriety of the conduct of my connections at that period, and would have supported them; I also cannot diffemble my fentiments, that the conduct of the Roman Catholics during the laft fummer, had not been conciliatory. As however, their fituation has been recommended from the throne, on a principle grounded in wifdom, I think it impossible for parliament to decline investigating the subject in the sustest manner; in doing fo, my conduct will be guided by the great end recommended by his majesty, the support of the established constitution; and if in the difcuffion of the Catholic Subject, it shall appear, that liberality towards their claims can unite them, fo as to make a common cause in support of the conflitution, I shall feel myfelf bound in duty. and in policy, to contur in fuch measures as may

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be brought forward in their favour, on that specific principle, and for that great end.

I truft, that if this line of conduct shall be adopted by the house, that the Roman Catholics will not be backward in affording every possible affurance, which can be made on their parts, that their disposition to unite in affection with us is fincere, and that a liberal conduct on the part of the Protestants, will produce in them fentiments of moderation, of content, and of gratitude.

In prefuming to defire the house to concur in the fentiments recommended from the throne, I do not confider that they will be pledged beyond the mere principles contained in that recommenda-

I shall certainly consider myself obliged by it to discuss the situation of the Catholics, but pledged to concession only conditionally. If in the difcustion it shall appear, that liberality of concession will procure additional strength to the established constitution, I shall feel myself bound to adopt that line of policy. If, on the contrary, it shall appear, that no disposition to conciliate on our part, is likely to engage the Catholics in a firm support of our constitution and establishments: I shall then consider myself as open to adopt any other line of policy which the wisdom of the house may suggest.

The hon. Mr. Wefley faid, in regard to what has been recommended in the speech from the throne, respecting our Catholic fellow-subjects, he could not reprefs expressing his approbation on that head; he had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics

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Catholics of this country, and he trufted, that when the question would be brought forward refpecting that description of men, that we would lay afide animofities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partizans.

The Right Hon. John O'Neill declared, it gave him much pleasure to observe, that the speech recommended to the attention of parliament the fituation of the Roman Catholics. The loyalty and good conduct of that people were rapidly removing the prejudices of the constituent body; and there could be no doubt, that his majesty's recommendation would have infinite weight not only with parliament, but with all ranks of persons.

Col. Blaquire.—Every man has, I believe, here a right to represent any matter that may appear to him as a tendency to disturb the peace of this house; and I must confess that in my mind, I think there is great reason to apprehend it. I read a printed paper about a fortnight or three weeks ago, and I have read it fince, stated by the friends of the Roman Catholics, which strikes me to be a declaration to the approach of civilbloodshed betwixt the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and I think the paper plainly indicates my affertions; and I beg leave to repeat a part of this refolution; but first I must say, that this paper writing was a resolution from a society composed of some of the first men in this kingdom, and I could not help observing, with some surprise, that I read the name of a personage of the highest quality, to have prefided on that day at the meeting, a personage eminent for his candour, and bes.

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loved by all for his affability. However, give me leave now, to repeat the very words stated in that paper:

"We exult to live in a country, where the voice of the people, once plainly and decidedly uttered, is a thunder which no government dares refift, and before which all corruption must disperse; the tumult of intemperance may be derided and subdued by the seeblest ministers, but it is not within the limits of ministerial daring to resist the firm demands of the people."

Is this language, fir, to be used to the council of the nation? Is it to be intimidated? Is it to be forced to comply with measures that may be thought to endanger the constitution? Such language, fure, can but be construed as a declaration of domestic war, and as the forerunner of violent diforder. Would it not have been time enough for fuch a fociety to have shewn their difapprobation, when their requests had been refused? Is this like the language which an hon. and learned member, stated to the house at the close of the last session, that three millions of people came in an humble and most humiliating manner, to ask relief for their grievances, and that the decision of this house, be it what it would, should be received by the Catholics most thankfully and gratefully? Now, fir, I shall only beg leave to add, that I do not think that there is a man on this fide of the house, nor on the other, but from that declaration, has reason to be alarmed, and that in the most ferious manner. Sir, if this house is to be treated with fuch indignity, in my humble opinion, there must be an end to parliament.

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Mr.

Mr. Grattan after some other observations, said, permit me to confider the conduct of our ministers. in its particular reference to that oppressed part of his majesty's subjects, the Catholics. I do not mean now to go into their claims, I retain my former conviction in their favour; but if I were their enemy, I could not approve of their treatment. Our ministry begins by offering them a personal incivility, so they state in their published debate. I am not a judge of the fact, but they are of the impression. They were so critically and equivocally situated with respect to political and civil rank, that even courtely from a lord lieutenant's sec. would have been a compliment, and slight is an insult. They are the only part of his majesty's subjects so situated; the Catholics will be foon in that fituation no longer; after offending the Catholics by manner, the next unadvised step of our ministry was to attack them by artifice, and accordingly they endeavoured to detach and divide the landed interest of the Catholics from the body at large, which was an attempt to deftroy the subordination of the common people, and to fet population adrift from the influence of property; and least there should remain still fome influence over their minds, the ministry make some blind and imperfect overtures to the Catholic clergy, to detach them also from the claims of their flock, which was to detach their flocks from them, and to leave that flock entirely deflitute of all principle whatever, of fubordination either to landlord or ecclefiastic. I am not a friend to superstition or subjugation, and yet there is a certain degree of moral influence which the pastor may fafely have over his flock, and the landlord over his tenantry, without which I fear you

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you would extinguish the foul of subordination; however, the minister endeavours to leave the Catholic, over whom the state cannot have by connection any afcendancy, free from any controul or check, either of their church or their own aristocracy; and it is a strong presumption in favour of that body, thus fet a drift as it were by the defign, that it recovered the principles of union, and has preferved the principles of subordination, and should have left its enemies without even a pretence to oppress them. The next impolitic step taken by our minister was the instifution of a paper war on the subject of religion, the declarations as you will find in the Catholic report of the transaction, managed, procured, or fanctioned by government, led to counter declaration, and finally, discussion at large, on the broad principle of philosophy; which ministry knew was against them; and in an appeal to the people, who, from interest must have been against them likewise, the ministry embitter this paper war, by its own rhetoricians and scribblers, and publish notoriously from the Castle such personal invectives against respectable Catholics, such contumelious stuff, you must recollect as written, published, and spread by the Castle against the pretentions and persons of the Catholic body: fuch invectives as must have roused the spirit of indignation as well as liberty, to vindicate their fame and fortunes against a scandalous and opprobrious government.

The next unfortunate error in this bufiness was a declaration from a right hon gentleman high in confidence, that on a certain event government would suppress the Catholics with the force of both countries.

countries. I incline to believe the threat was unauthorised; nor do I pretend to fay it was unconditional; it was on a certain event, or supposition, that these men committed fomething which government might call a great offence; but who had a right to suppose such a body of men will commit an act which will justify his majesty's ministers to levy war on so vast a portion of his people: a liege fubject, living within the peace of the king, to suppose him a rebel, in order to threaten him with arms, is to tell him he is not a fubject but a flave. Without discussing any further objections to fuch language, it is fufficient to fay that the direct and obvious tendency of fuch a menace, was to make the Catholic body attribute to the successes of France that safety and privilege which should have appeared to proceed from the benignity of the king, and the justice of parliament. I say the tendency of such a declaration; but the effect of it has been, I believe, only to manifest his majesty's gracious and fignal interposition, from his paternal love, for his loyal subjects to afford them protection against his minister.

The next unfortunate error of our ministry was their interference with grand juries against the Catholics, because they were giving to the Protestant salse hopes, at the same time that they were exciting against the Catholics salse sears. They took the lead in somenting a religious war, they began it, they acted in the mongrel capacity of country gentlemen and ministers, they acted against the Catholics as country gentlemen, and encouraged the Protestants as ministers. They had, I understand, informed the British ministry, that the influence of the crown could not induce a majority

majority to vote against Catholic pretensions, and then they themselves take a leading part to make that dissiculty in the country, of which they complain in their dispatches. To the country gentlemen they say, will you bear that these men shall get the elective franchise, and to the British minister, you see these country gentlemen; and the consequences of this conduct is, that the Irish ministry becomes parties against the people, and have a personal and country interest to exclude them; not as Catholics, but as enemies.

Among other instances of the intolerance of ministers, was, something of a religious war in an address from the corporation of Dublin to the other corporations of the kingdom. I confider this publication as the act of the Castle, the act of their city delegation, the composition of their cityagents. The city has been a long time the object of their mischief: whenever the city is left to herfelf, the will ever speak with moderation and propriety; and her mistake in this address has been to have refigned her better understanding to the intrigues and interference of the Castle. I shall observe on this publication so far as to say, that, according to the fentence it pronounces, that the doom of the Catholic, in all times to come, is perpetual exclusion from the franchise of the constitution; and, according to the law that publication advances, the title of the Protestant to his lands and privileges is the right of conquest. If then the three millions of Catholics should, with the affistance of twenty-fix millions in France, rebel and dispossess you of your properties and charters, they have in the city publication an authority, they have the law of conquest, and they have

have your excuse for appealing to the law of conquest, because they have by the sentence of the corporation, nothing else to relieve them from the doom of slavery!

The refult of this interpolition of the Irish government in this religious war, the consequence of having poured their angry ingredients into the cup of religious fury, has been that, as far as relates to Irish government, they have totally lost the considence of the Catholics; they have lost the considence of one part of his majesty's subjects by their corruption, and of the other by their intolerance.

Hon. D. Browne. The part that I have taken in discussion of the Catholic question in this house, and my connection with perfons of that fect in my own country, makes it, as I think, incumbent on me to express my warmest thanks, and my highest approbation of that part of his Excellency's speech that recommends the case of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the confideration of its parliament. I truft, the Catholics will not forget the parliamentary perfecutions against them, which have been unremitting fince the revolution, have ceased from the commencement of the reign of George the 3d; that he was the first Prince that ventured to recommend their loyalty and grievances to the confideration of their countrymen; I trust they will be the best prop of his crown, the best support of the constitution: if ever they should for a moment forget what they owe to their beneficent fovereign, I will be ashamed of what now is my pride and my boaft, my attachment to them. Tied to them by every principle of hereditary

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tary and personal regard, I pledge myself to them, to this House, and to the world, that my exertions for their cause shall cease only with their persect liberation from the difgraceful state of civil disability in which they stand. I have with some trouble and care prepared a bill for that purpofe: to refcue my friends from flavery, to purify the law from absurdity, is my warmest wish; but it is a situation to which my wishes alone entitle me. His majefty's ministers in this country will, I suppose, bring forward his majesty's measure before parliament. I am perfectly fatisfied to confign it to their care, and shall be content to give them my zealous support, if the bill brought forward be what I think it ought for the Catholics; I will use my best endeavours with them to prevent their embaraffing the measure by unreasonable demands. If, contrary to my expectations, it should be a half measure for them, I will endeavour to amend it.

Right hon. Mr. Hobart.—Although the right hon. gentleman has been pleafed to express, in strong terms, his disapprobation of the conduct of this house, I should not think it respectful to the gentlemen who compose it, for me to enter into their justification. With regard to that part of his speech which concerns me personally, and particularly with regard to my treatment of the Catholics, I must observe, that he has mentioned that the impression he received was conveyed to him from the publication of the debates in William street—

[Mr. Grattan, interrupting him, faid, I did not fay he had done fo, but that they had accused him of having done so; for I was not a judge of the fact, though they were of the expression.]

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I am happy (refumed Mr. Hobart) that the right hon gentleman has called upon me, as it affords me an opportunity of explaining my conduct with regard to the Catholics, and I trust the gentlemen of this house will do me the justice to believe, that I am incapable of treating any decription of his majelty's subjects with difrespect. When the Catholics in the fellion of 1700, applied to me on the subject of the petition they defined to have supported in parliament, I certainly gave them no encouragement, because I did not conhder myfelf warranted in fo doing; but if my declining to hold out expectations of relief at that time was any proof of difrespect, I am inclined to believe that the right hon, gentleman was equally guilty of it. And I know that altho' they applied to many other members of this house to prefent their petition, not one was found who would com-ply with their wishes. Subjequent to this period, relaxation of the popery laws paffed in Great Britain, and expectations were then entertained, that fimilar measures might be adopted here. With that view I had communications with feveral of the Catholics, and I did then recommend it most strenucully to them, to adopt a conciliating line of conduct, as the only ground upon which they could hope for indulgence from parliament. Whether this advice was likely to forward their objects, I leave to the house to judge; but I must explicitly say, that the opinion I gave was not to any particular description of Catholics, but to all. as I could prove to the right hon. gentleman by naming them to him; which I am ready to do: Was this conduct purfued by me with a defire to fow discontent? No-it was with the best inten-

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right hon gentleman may allude to, I cannot possibly know; nor shall I set so inconsistently with my duty as to silicule the lord lieutenant's dispatches here; but I may venture to say, that if he had last year represented to the British ministers, that the House of Commons would not then grant the elective franchise, he would not have made a salle representation. As to the grand juries—I am not to desend the conduct of others; but I must say, after what has fallen from the right hon gentleman with respect to the manifests of the metropolis, that I approved of it as little as he seems to have done.

Mr. Hardy, after making some remarks on what had passed between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Hobart, said, that he did not consider his right hon. friend (Mr. Grattan) as having charged the latter with any want of personal civility to the Roman catholics; he certainly charged government as descione in attention to them; but as to Mr. Hobart, no one who had observed his proper deportment in the House of Commons, could think of charging him with personal incivility to any man or set of men whatever.

He then faid, that nothing had ever afforded him more fatisfaction, than to hear that morning, that his majesty had given it in charge to the lord lieutenant to recommend to parliament a reconsideration of the Roman Catholic question. Never was any measure, in his opinion more fraught with benignity and true political wisdom, and, he would venture to add, that if followed up by parliament as it ought, it would tend more than any thing else to heal all divisions, and distuse general peace throughout the country, it would, in fact, E 2

be the vestibule to the Temple of Union among all true Irishmen. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Welley) who had feconded the address, had very properly faid, that they should act in this business as judicious temperate statesmen, and not as violent partizans. As for himfelf he did not know of any gentlemen who flood forth as partizans for the Catholics, though they had, and justly, many warm friends and advocates. If, however, there were fuch, he should only fay, Let the legislature take the Roman Catholics to themselves, and suffer no man to go before them in the affections of the Roman Catholics. If the latter leaned to this or that man, or any particular fet of men whatever, they did no more than men who feel themselves oppressed would always do, that is, look with gratitude to those who sympathised with them, and bid them to hope for relief. Could any minister or parliament annihilate fuch propenfities? No. But they might turn the current of those feelings into fuch channels as might be beneficial to their country. Was it agreeable to any rational policy, to the natural order of things, to fee the Roman Catholics, that is, the major part of the people of Ireland, at one time leaning on the crown for fupport, then looking for protection from fome enlightened Protestants; then following some perfons of rank of their own persuasion, then fixing their eyes on diffenters, then on both houses of parliament, and after all, turning their backs on the ministry of their own country, and flying to the foot of the throne for relief. Was this feemly?-Was it to be endured much longer? And what was the cause of it but this-that the Roman Catholic question was not sufficiently understood in the country, or that it had not been taken up

by parliament on that broad and liberal ground where it alone could find a refting place. Most wifely and justly, therefore, did his majesty, as the common father of all his people, call upon parliament to give all their serious and impartial attention to this momentous subject.

Sir H. Langrishe said, when we consider with what unceasing industry, discontent and disunion have been propagated through this country for some time past, we cannot but be impressed with fentiments of gratitude and fatisfaction; when we fee the paternal care recalling our attention to preferve the inestimable bleffings we enjoy, and to maintain the stability of our happy constitution, by drawing closer the bonds of interest and affection amongst us; when we see the common father of his people recommending to the wisdom and liberality of parliament, fo great and loyal a part of his majesty's subjects as the Roman Catholics of Ireland, we could not but feel a veneration for a fovereign, whose admonitions are benevolence, and whose government is liberty. The Roman Catholics have at all times, on interesting occasions, proved themselves good and loyal subjects, obedient to the laws, attached to the monarchy, and devoted to the constitution; as such I have ever respected them; as fuch, from my earliest years, I have endeavoured to ferve them; and though, on fome occasions I was obliged to conform my efforts in their fervice, to the fense and temper of the times, I have never for a moment changed my opinion concerning the werits of their claims; and I must do the present administration the justice to say, they were ever defirous to go as far in their fervice, as they found the temper of parliament would permit; that the present

present question was not what you would concede to those merits and those claims, but that you should on a future day, in compliance with his majesty's gracious recommendation, take them into confideration; that when that day shall come, I should be happy to bear testimony to one, and to support the other. That I would only fay at present for the Roman Catholics, that I remembered when they came forward to refift the invafion of a foreign enemy; and that I now faw them ready to refift the invasion, not perhaps of a foreign force, but of foreign principles; for we have been informed from the throne this day, and we all know, that a great and populous nation has proclaimed hostility against every serious establishment in the world, and affumes to be the arbiter of our laws and conflictation; a nation of demooracy, (as they call themselves) but in fact a nation composed of 24 millions of kings, and 750 Subjects: which 750 subjects are in a state of vaffalage and subjection, more degrading than can be exampled in the history of flavery : who have erected themselves into a tribunal to try their king, without being entrusted with the power to acquit the innocent; who call themselves legislators, without the authority to make a law. We all know that evil defigns, a reftless spirit, and the phrenzy of innovation, have laid fiege to the happiness of the world; and that the most pernidoctrines are industriously propagated through this country; that every principle of the human mind, however dear from its utility to our happiness, however indispensible from a sense of duty, however facred from the authority of laws, or obligation of oaths, had been avowedly attacked; that, though there was in this country a multitude

multidude of good and loyal fubjects who felt the bleflings of a fovereign, dispensing equal protection and common justice to all; though there was a force of loyalty fufficient to disappoint the ultimate ends of turbulence and fedition; yet public diforder was fo great an evil, that the most distant appearance of it must alarm our apprehensions, and call forth every precaution; for there neverwas a new doctrine, however contrary to reason, however subversive of happiness, that did not in the vacuity of the human mind, find room for its reception amongst the multitude. That when we consider such a country as Ireland, perhaps in all its circumstances the most favoured spot under heaven, in the progreffive growth of arts, agriculture, commerce, and profperity, every day better than it was the day before; and not endowed with the fullness, exempted from the ills incidental even to maturity, and less burthened by taxes than any country in Europe; -bleffed with conflicutional liberty, facred and fecure as any that flands recorded in the biftories of the world; when we fee fuch a country diffurbed by the voice of discontent, or threatened by the hand of fedition; when we hear and read doctrines propagated which tend to level the monarchy, to fubvert the conflitution, and deftroy our happines ; when we fee the rhapfodies of fedition, the rudiments of rebellion, hawked about the ftreets like common merchandize, for the use of manfold in great bargains to wholefale adventurers, with every encouragement to those who buy to fell again; or with a more mischievous liberality. circulated gratis, as it were feattered about by the winds, like the Sybils leaves of old, conveying dark prophelies to delude the people, and cheat them

them out of their happiness; when we saw such things were, it was time to unite all conditions and persuasions of men, whose tenets were loyalty; the powers of the state, the force of the laws, and the weight of individuals, to repress the infatuation, and avert the calamity.

Doctor Duigenan, faid, I cannot, agree to the amendment proposed by the right hon. gentleman, because such an amendment is evidently calculated to entrap this House into the expression of a fort of approbation of the claims of the Roman Catholics, contained in their petition to the throne, and thereby artfully to obtain a fort of prejudgment in favour of the catholic question by surprise, before it comes regularly to be confidered and debated in the House. No man in this House has a higher respect for the recommendation of our gracious monarch than I have, or will take more pains ferioully to confider the catholic question; but I have read in the public prints a copy of a catholic petition presented to the throne; and if such be a true copy, I pledge myself to this House to demonstrate, that one third of it is made up of groß misreprefentation, and another third of it of rank and notorious falsehood: and if my most gracious sovereign has been misled by the contents of such a petition, into an opinion too favourable to the interests of the Roman Catholics of this nation, it shall be my bufiness, when the question comes regularly to be debated in this House, to expose the mifrepresentation and falsehood of this production to his majesty's ministers, and to the nation in general; and to convince the Roman Catholics of the country, that fair, honest, and due representation of their fituation, will be hereafter more beneficial

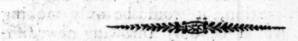
beneficial to them. And as the recommendation of his majesty to this House respecting the Roman Catholics, may have been procured by fraud and imposition, (as for the reasons aforesaid I much suspect) I shall take care to withhold my assent from this amendment, or form any other amendment which may tend to express any opinion on the Catholic question, till that business is brought regularly to be debated and considered in this House.

Mr. Egan then rose-I once thought myself exceedingly unfortunate to possess a feat in this House. Three millions of his majesty's subjects did me the honour to request, I would prefer their loyal, their dutiful, their humble petition to this House. I thought it my duty, as a member of this House, to comply with their requisition; and I endeavoured by my language to encrease if posible, the expression of their loyalty, dutifulness and humility. The petition was, it is true, received, but to my aftonishment, on the the fucceeding day, the administration expunged it and its reception from the journals of this House with reviling calumny and precipitation. I then felt fome humiliation in even the execution of my duty. But, Sir, I feel heartfelf fatisfaction and exculpation in the benignant and liberal speech of our most gracious sovereign. We hear his paternal benignity and liberality recommending from the throne these complaints, which you rejected from the House of parliament. I see the fovereign of his people, in effect the vindicator of my conduct, the reprover of his administration, and the advocate of his oppressed subjects.

Mr. Bushe said, when the Catholic petition was prefented, there was not a man who even profested an expectation that the measures would then be carried; they professed a wish for no more than that the ears of Protestants should be familiarized to their claims, and a hope that reason and justice would have their effect, after that deliberation which fo great a subject required. The petition was not rejected on the principle that their claims were inadmissible; the very contrary of that principle was flated, and among others it was stated by himself. What was more right, or more natural, or more fuited to the dignity of parliament, than that on fo great a question they should confer with their constituents, and take time for deliberation? The refult of that deliberation, I truft, will be a great and fubstantial measure, granting them at once every thing, except what would appear injurious to those of both persualions. A twelve-month, the usual time for a Roman Catholic candidate to declare his pretentions to an office, was not a very long time for them to wait before their pretentions, great and general as they were, should be decided upon, nor for us to deliberate, before we revised the policy of our ancestors.

Mr. R. Sheridan, rose last in the debate, he said, an address, expressive of loyalty to the sovereign, and unshaken attachment to the constitution, should ever have, let who would be in or out of power, his cordial support; he did not, however, consider that in voting for the address, any member was bound to any particular measure, recommended from the throne; and he considered himself free, as to that momentous question relating to the Roman Catholics. Having mentioned that subject

subject, he said, his feelings would not allow him to hear the obloquy cast upon administration for their conduct on that question, in the last session, without taking his share of the censure; he had voted with them; he knew nothing of ministers but in that House; and on that question it was fair to say, they divided with the largest majority perhaps ever known, composed of men the first in character, property, and talents in that House.



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FRIDAY JANUARY 11.

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MR. GRATTAN moved the following amendment be made in the address, after the word conficution, in the ninth paragraph:

We admite the wisdom which, at so critical a season, has prompted your majesty to come forward to take a seasing part in healing the political dissentions of your people on account of religion. We shall take into our immediate consideration the subject graciously recommended from the throne; and at a time when doctrines pernicious to freedom, and dangerous to monarchical government, are propagated in foreign countries, we shall not fail to impress your majesty's Catholic subjects with a sense of the singular and eternal obligation they owe to the throne, and to your majesty's royal person and family."

Mr. Conolly, faid, it was recommended from the throne, that the house should treat their Catholic brethren with liberality. I have ever given my confent to every measure proposed for their relief; I will now use the liberality which the fpeech from the throne recommended: but I will agree in participating with the Catholics the whole constitution, only, provided they would join hand in hand with their Protestant brethren, and lay the axe to the root of corruption. But if the fystem of corruption shall be continued, as at prefent, and if the Catholics were admitted into the constitution, it would be only making bad worse it would be only throwing new difficulties and new expence in the way of members of parliament, which they certainly would not be at the lofs of.

Hon. D. Browne-I will vote for that part of the address, that thanks his majesty for continuing Lord Westmorland in the government of this country, because I have supported his administration. I have done fo without office, without hope of office, or ever intend to take office; -I have done fo on the principle that has directed the votes of other gentlemen in my fituation. I think that in the clash of parties the people have generally little concern. I conceive that when trade, revenue, public and private credit have increased under the auspices of government; that no new taxes during the administration have been heard of; that no stretch of power has been made, injurious to the liberty or property of the fubject; that it was a justification, and that I owe it as a duty to my conflituents, to support a government under which the country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The

The real grievance of Ireland is the popery laws, by which the majority of its people are precluded. from the enjoyment of those benefits; and I am happy to expect that the liberality of parliament will speedily do that injurious distinction away; and then that the fituation of Ireland will be enviable indeed, enjoying the bleffings of the British constitution without its debt or its taxes; all we fhall want will be a fense of the happiness we shall enjoy, if we please it. I never took an office from the principle of always having it in my power to take that part in parliament, without restraint, that to my judgment, such as it was, seemed best; that in the Catholic question I have voted differently from government, and I would do fo had the governor been my brother, and that his existence depended on my vote; but that I think it a justice to government to state, that the Catholic cause was opposed in the last fession by the prejudice and interests of their own countrymen, and not by government. If the minister of Ireland informed the British minister tha the could not carry the wishes of the Catholics through the lrift parliament, he informed him rightly; if he stated, that the Protestants opposed almost universally the Catholics getting the elective franchife: Never, fince the revolution, was there more prejudice against the Catholics, than in the last session of parliament, and I think it was a ftrong measure of government to carry through for them what they got. From whence arose the change in disposition, that displays itself now, fimply from the change of the times from the last year to this? From a rational Protestant seeing the impossibility of maintaining a monopoly opposite to reason, to the bulk of the people, and the inclination of the fovereign. The

The Hon. Col. Hutchinfon.—Sir, the king has been pleased in his speech from the throne, to recommend to your most serious consideration, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom. By this act his majesty has demonstrated both his beneficence and his wisdom; his beneficence, because he knows they have been oppressed; his wisdom, because he is convinced that he does not possess a more attached, a more loyal, or a more affectionate body of subjects than they are.

I had the honour of telling you last session of parliament, that your prejudices on this subject would not long continue. Events have proved that I was right; and at the fame time, when I fay this, God forbid that any man should suppose I possess that insolent despotism of mind, which would induce me to place my opinions as the standard of right or wrong, of truth or falsehood; or that want of candour which would deny that an honest man, with the purest and best of intentions, might not have taken a contrary part on fo great and so important a subject. I am happy when I confider the line of conduct I then followed, but I cannot triumph in it. At a moment like the prefent, I should be forry, indeed, were I capable of exulting in the humiliation of parliament.

I am willing, Sir, to respect majorities, even when I differ from them, as much as any man; however I can never allow, that almost all the integrity and ability of this House were to be found among the 210, who voted for the reception of the Catholic petition. On the contrary, I think that on that night I had the honour to act with

with fome of the ablest and honest men whom this country ever faw; one man in particular, whose eloquence will be felt and admired as long as the English language shall be known and understood, or there shall remain a man of true taste in these kingdoms; whose patriotism and integrity shall be revered as long as public virtue retains a friend: the historians of future times will rank him among the benefactors of nations; among that chasen band, who deserve the recollection of a grateful posterity, It will then be remembered, that the same man led this country to commerce, to constitution, and to union.

I hope to hear no more of corporate resolutions; at least for the future, I hope they may be written with the fanity of men, and the moderation of gentlemen; these resolutions are I fear sometimes composed under the oppression of indigestion, or may be the halfy ebullitions of fancies, warm with wine.

When I read that Protestant tyranny, and Catholic flavery, were derived from God, and that the misfortune of the ancestor was the charter of the descendant, I forgot the blasphemy in the monstrous proscription of the claim, and in the foolish affertion that Protestant power had no better origin than force, and confequently no better supporter than the bayonet.

Major Dayle, faid, the history of past ages has not produced a moment more pregnant with awful events, than that at which I have the honour to address you. But amidst the many serious confiderations which claim your attention, one, of predominant predominant magnitude, irrefiftably demands exclusive preserence. What subject can stand in competition with the happiness of three-sourths of our countrymen? Let me correct the expression; the happiness of the whole community is at a stake. For it is the righteous doom of heaven, that wheresoever man shall tyrannize over his brother, jealousy and sear of the oppressed blight every comfort of the oppressor. Nay, were it possible to smother apprehension, the heart becomes so vitiated by the habit of systematic injustice, that it loses its best capacity of enjoyment.

I abjure you, therefore, by every tie that can influence mankind; by your humanity, by your justice, by your dearest interests, to weigh dispassionately the situation of the Catholics of Ireland, to which his majesty particularly points your attention, with a benignity only to be equalled by the wisdom of the measure. The Catholic subjects at least treble the number of all other descriptions united; their loyalty to their sovereign, and sidelity to their sellow-citizens, has for a century stood unimpeached, under circumstances the most trying, under opportunities the most inviting; yet these men still remain as aliens and almost unacknowledged in their native land.

In the maturity of merits so long proved, they have, at length, come forward to ask from you the rights of citizenship. An hon gentleman has said, and even thought it an effort of liberality, that all privileges should be extended to them, confistent with the fafety of other persuasions, and the Protestant Ascendancy. Sir, this is an invidious way of stating the question, and not less erroneous

than invidious. No danger exists from the Catholic participation of privileges; it would give them a civic interest, which must overbear every consideration, slowing from the difference of religious opinion.

In truth religion has nought else to do with the question. Happy would it be for the Catholics, if their claims were to be tried by the criterion of our holy religion, which preaches to its followers the balmy spirit of philanthropy, and teaches us to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us.

The question now presents itself too distinctly to admit of any gloffes with which petty interest has heretofore diftinguished its real quality. If there fhould be in this affembly any men, who for a felfish advantage have constantly obstructed the course of justice to the Catholics, to them I will fay " You have shewn yourselves unequal to embrace even the starveling pigmy policy which you affected to admire." Had it been your object to maintain a disparity of condition between the Protestants and Catholics, you ought to have extended to the latter at least such a portion of advantages as would have been a decent price for their acquiefence and submission. But in the true spirit of haberdashers of justice, you have haggled in your bargin, 'till a generous pride has forced the Catholic to affert the integrity of his birth-right, and demand the full extent of what is due to him as the citizen of a free community.

It is faid they have already received benefits from the legislature. I admit it, and I fee that the country has improved accordingly. The prosperity of Ireland has proceeded pari passu with Catholic emancipation. Convinced that the one cannot

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be perfect, without the completion of the other, I shall give my voice decidedly and unequivocally for the entire and total removal of every disqualification whatsoever, which now preffes on the Catholic subjects of Ireland. As a subject devoted to the interest of my sovereign, and his illustrious house; as a servant, attached by every tie of gratitude to a Prince, whose interest must be, as I know his affections are deeply engaged in the welfare of this kingdom-and as an Irithman, anxious for the liberty of my country, I urge the only meafure that can fecure both; -Nil actum reputans, h quid superesset agendum. And when I allude to that Illustrious Personage, it is to a Prince, who, in return for his generous protection, requires no venal dereliction of principle, no flavish suppression of fentiment.-But who will give credit to the honefty of an opinion, though it may differ from his own inclinations—a Prince who has the magnanimity to fcorn the adulation of interested parafites, or the fervile obsequiousness of an intimidated head; -and who feeks a tribute worthy of conscious manliness, in the dignifying, because fpontaneous, homage of a proud and elevated people!-The house will forgive, I am fure, this irrefiftible effusion. This will give you the ftrong government the hon. gentleman wishes for; with this aid you may defy Paine and all his works, the French mania and all their Jacobine emissaries; you will have a united people to oppose to all enemies foreign or domestic. Sir, I confess, I love a ftrong government, because I know that liberty cannot exist without it; I will tell you how to have one; make your people happy, and your government will be firong-adopt the motto taken up by your chancellor, I mean your late chancellor, be just and fear not, and I am convinced that his majesty, by his gracious

gracious interpolition in behalf of his oppressed subjects, has given the best resutation to the antimonarchical libels of Paine.

Mr. Curran adverted to the rejection of the Catholic petition by the influence of the Irish administration. The principle, Sir, of that rejection has been difavowed by the throne. Administration has now an interest distinct from the united withes of the people, and their fovereign. The present question, I feel is between a sovereign who has faved the people, and an administration who would have destroyed it. I will vote for that fovereign and that people. Their petition was rejected by those who called themselves their representatives; the next year that same petition passed over that parliament, and approached the throne. Had it been rejected there, there remained only one other throne for mifery to invoke, and from that last and dreadful appeal, let it never be forgotten by Irish gratitude, that we have been faved by the piety and compassion of the father of his people. The opposition to the amendment I therefore confider as conveying the fentiment which we felt of the profligacy which exposed us, and of the gracious interposition by which we have fo providentially been preserved.

Mr. Coote.—Sir, I declare that the charge against government, for having influenced grand juries, is totally destitute of truth: I am convinced grand juries would not be influenced by any government in the charge alluded to; I will not shrink from openly and decidedly acquainting the house with the truth, so far as concerned a grand jury of which I had been foreman: That I had proposed to express a disapprobation of the assembling a government.

convention in the metropolis; a meeting I conceived to be dangerous to the constitution; that however, the grand jury had not acceded to my wishes, or agreed to any resolutions; that I have never consulted, or even communicated to government what I have done; and, that on points that I conceived the constitutional interest of Ireland concerned in, I disclaim the idea of consulting government; that I am perfectly affured that grand juries were superior to the influence of any government. I wave the discussion of resorm, or of the Roman Catholics; when that important question comes forward, I hope that the Protestant power and government will be preserved.

The Right Hon. the Provost of Trinity College. I declare that I have never heard any speech from the throne, one excepted, which has given me fo much fatisfaction as the present. I alude to that part of it, in which his excellency has mentioned that he had it in particular command from his majesty, to recommend such measures as may be most likely to cement a general union of fentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, and a serious attention to the fituation of his majesty's Catholic subjects with wisdom and liberality. I think this part of the fpeech reflected the highest honour on the fovereign, the ministers in whom he confides, and the lord lieutenant who delivered it; I confider it as the harbinger of peace and of liberty, the cement of our fociety and the union of four millions of men into one nation.

The exception to which I intend to allude was the speech of 1782, delivered by one of the most revered characters in Britain, and one of the most amiable

amiable men upon earth, which declared the freedom and independence of our legislature. I confider this speech as a sequel to that, and that a free legislature implied the freedom of its object, and of all bodies of men for which it was to legislate. The right hon, patron of that measure (Mr. Grattan) never intended to exclude from the benefit of it, three-fourths of his fellow subjects. With what justice could we have complained of the injustice of binding us by the acts of a legislature where we were not represented, if we were determined to perfevere in exerting that power ourselves? Such countries alone are worthy of liberty as are ready to diffuse it for the happiness of mankind; those of a contrary description are unworthy of that bleffing, and will not keep it long; union could only be effected by repealing those laws which were complained of, by a great majority of our people as injurious to their common law rights; among those laws I consider the act of the 1st of the late king, excluding the Roman Catholics from voting for members to fit in parliament.

I think the legislature had no power to make fuch a law. Those persons were part of the constituents who had elected the House of Commons, who concurred in making it, and one of their' first acts was to exclude from the right of the election, part of those constituents by whom they were elected, and whose representatives they were; nor had they any right to deprive their fovereign of the affistance of a majority of his subjects of the exercise of this franchise -I affirm this to be unjust, and declare, that in my opinion no conflitution could be happy, or deferve to be fo, which was founded in an act of flagrant injustice.

The proceedings in 1782 were a renovation of the old contitution of Ireland, to which the Roman Catholics, as well as the Protestants were entitled; and that exclusion was more severe against the Catholics, because the benefits obtained in the yera 1782, particularly the independence of the legislature, and the repeal of Poyning's law, were what the Catholics contended for in the years 1743 and 1788.

No man disapproves more warmly than I do, of the means then used for the acquisition of those objects; but these were proofs that this class of men were lovers of liberty, and friends to the constitution of their country, from the benefit of which they ought not to be excluded. With a Protestant King, and a Protestant House of Lords and Commons, I think neither the church nor the state will be in danger. I am convinced, it will be found so in experience, and that the world would be hereafter surprized, that any difficulty had been made in restoring them to the rights of franchise. I remember all the struggles that had been made for the last thirty years, for the emancipation of the Catholics.

In every one of those instances great alarms were raised throughout the kingdom, and it was boldly afferted that those innovations, as they were then called, would subvert the Protestant government and Protestant religion. But what was the fact? Not one of those laws, against which a clamour had been raised, has ever proved in the smallest degree prejudicial to either. The first of those attempts was to allow them to extend lands by eligit, or in other words, to allow those people to make use of the same benefits for recovery

very of their just debts, that other subjects were intitled to. The bill however, after the most violent opposition, passed both Houses of Parliament, but upon a representation to Lord Hardwick, who had been Lord Chancellor, that the law would be be prejudicial to the Protestant religion, and to the connection between the two kingdoms, the bill was stopped in England.

It is but justice to the memory of that noble earl to fay, that the fubject was afterwards ex-plained to him, that he was concerned for what he had done, and promised his assistance if the bill fhould be again transmitted. The Catholics were very much alarmed at this disappointment. but were then affured that they had this right by common law, and that no act of parliament had deprived them of it. The question was afterwards brought before Lord Lifford, who expressed his furprize that any doubt could have been ever entertained of their right to iffue eligits; and yet this subject had been considered in parliament as of a most alarming nature, and as highly prejudicial to the church as well as to the state in Ireland. The next attempt was to allow them to take mortgages. The object of the bill for that purpose was founded on the clearest principles-for the benefit of Protestants, to enable them to borrow money at moderate interest, and that the Catholics should give the best security for their good behavl our, by lending their money on lands. This bill, after great opposition, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

The act giving them liberty to purchase the inheritance of lands, raised a great outery; it was altered in the commons to a liberty to take leases

for 999 years, at a renewal rent; and passed in that form with great dissiculty.—The Catholics were dejected; but were assured, as the reversion would be no advantage to the Protestant seller, and as the term for years would not bring so much money to him as the sale of the inheritance; that all persons would be agreed, on the experience of those facts, to give them liberty to purchase inheritances.

Such was the event; and those laws which were represented as highly injurious to the Protestant interest and religion, have never been attended with any prejudice to either. By investing their money in these purchases, the Catholics gave to the state and to the kingdom the best possible security for their attachment to both.—When we look back on those transactions it is inconceivable how it could have entered into the heart of man to object to any of those measures, or that any understanding could be so weak as to be impressed by such objections.

But those prejudices have not been confined to this body of men only. When any relief has been attempted to any religious feet, it was clamoured against as an innovation injurious to the Protestant interest. We all remember the numerous publications against the repeal of the facramental test, in support of which I have encountered very strong opposition. The act for confirming the marriage of diffenters by their own clergy has been also very strongly opposed, and predictions of the most fatal consequences were made; but what has been the event? Has any one inconvenience been felt by any of those laws in any part of this kingdom? I think not, and mention thefe feveral inflances as cautions to gentlemen not to fuffer their minds to be impressed by any ill consequences

quences which the imaginations of certain men, who are ever hated on those subjects, should entertain or endeavour to insuse into the minds of others.

As the head of a Protestant seminary, I shall think myself as much bound to support the church of Ireland as if I had the honour of being a bishop; but I am convinced in my judgment, that the relief of the Roman Catholics would give additional firength to both church and state by removing religious prejudices. I have been ever their advocate, and shall continue to be so while their requifitions are reasonable. I have always recommended it to them to look up to the royal protection. All the favours they have received have proved that my advice was well founded: and I have never failed to recommend it to government to attach fuch a great portion of our fellow-fubjects to the crown by every proper act of favour and concession. I trust they will now receive the protection of those concerned in his Majesty's government, if it should be otherwise, which I have no reason to believe, I shall be in this particular under the necessity of going against government.

I approved of the address as far as it went; but think it does not go far enough. Whenever the crown has thought proper to recommend any measure to parliament, it has been the constant mode of parliamentary proceedings to return the king thanks for his interposition. There never was an interposition that called for the grateful acknowledgments of parliament more than the present. It has been also usual to add, that the House

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House will take the subject into its immediate confideration; some words to that effect should be now added. It will be also proper that this address should inform the Roman Catholics of this kingdom how highly they are indebted to their sovereign, and that this conciliatory measure had proceeded from his gracious interposition.

An amendment had been proposed to this effect, with which I entirely agree; the objection to the words religious animosity, contained in it, does not appear to me to have weight; but such as it was, might be easily obviated, by changing those words into the following, which is really the fact, political differences arising from religion.

Rt. Hon. W. B. Conyngham .- Sir, though many observations have been made in the course of the preceding day, most of which I intended to take notice of in the time that the feveral subjects should come before the House; yet as every member who had delivered his fentiments had avowed his determination to support the constitution in king, lords, and commons, and the necessity of strengthening his majesty's government, at a crifis when foreign enemies were likely to add to those internal ones, who had endeavoured to fap the foundation of the constitution by their feditious proceedings, I should not have troubled the House, as I trust my attachment to the king and constitution were well known, had not the gentlemen, in the general obloquy of the administration they were anxious to villify, involved the most useful class of the people of this country—that class who know the sentiments, and feel the real interests of the people of Ireland—the refident

refident gentlemen of the country, who attend the affizes, and are usually members of the several grand juries.

Gentlemen who had fo properly painted the critical fituation of the kingdom, and the necessity of promoting every plan of conciliating the minds of the inhabitants of different persuasions, had taken a strange method to effect that plan by mifreprefenting the intentions of the resolutions that were entered into last fummer by the several sheriffs and grand juries of the kingdom, and charging those respectable bodies, as the dependants of what they call a profligate administration. Gentlemen should know a little of the country of Ireland, before they take upon them to cenfure those who are her best friends, those are the resident country gentlemen. It is not by fpending their time near the capital, never giving any attention to their tenantry in the country, or taking their share in the duties of country gentlemen, that they can be judges of their fentiments. Certainly many of them have merit in exercifing their abilities in support of the constitution, but are totally ignorant of the country. If they should attend those grand juries, they would know the real fentiments of the people of Ireland; they would know they are not dictated to, and they would know that those country gentlemen possess that honest jealoufy that would spurn with indignation at fuch ministerial propositions. I entreat gentlemen not to aggravate any ealousies that might have arisen, which would be as fatal as for the crew of a ship in the midst of the storm, instead of uniting to fave the vessel, to revive their private animofities, and charge the captain with his past cruelty and ill usage.

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I believe, Sir, the best refutation is to state facts that came to my knowledge, that I had been in the north of Ireland at the time that I received the first notice of Mr. Byrne's circular letter. The plan recommended was fecretly attempted in that part of the country, and copies of Mr. Byrne's letter having been printed at Derry, by order of a Roman Catholic Prieft, they fell into the hands of the mayor, and the gentlemen of that city being very much alarmed at the arguments made use of by Mr. Byrne, fimilar to those of the friends of the French revolution, and hearing that the plan was fecretly attempted to form a convention fimilar to the national convention of France, advised the chief magistrate to communicate the intelligence to government. I was informed that the answer given to that magistrate was that government could not at that time give any advice as to what was proper to be done.

This transaction happened a very few days preceding the affizes where the resolutions were passed. I again advert to the imprudence of fomenting jealousies between the resident protestant gentlemen of Ireland and their Roman catholic brethren, with whom they lived in the greatest cordiality, though they might differ in political opinions. Sir, I think it would be wife to look to some acts in the course of the session, that should come home to the feeling of the people. I applaud the idea of a tax on absentees, though not favourably commented on by a former speaker. I have endeavoured, formerly when introduced into this house, to give it my warmest support, but I think it should be applied in a different manner from what was the intention of the former promoters of it.

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From my knowledge of most parts of Ireland, there was a visible difference in the face of the country where the lands were in their possession, from that' which enjoyed the influence of the refident proprietor. The encouragement given to industry, the influence of the circulation of wealth, the protection afforded to the tenantry by the refident landlord, were every where vifible; and by long observation, I am convinced, that the tumults which have taken place in Ireland in various parts, within my memory, have mostly originated on the estates of absentees. I think, therefore, it was by no means unreasonable, that in such parts of the country where the industrious tenants enjoyed no benefit from the reflux or circulation of that wealth which was furnished to the proprietor, a small share of that wealth should be appropriated to the alleviation of the local taxes of fuch tenantry, and which tax ultimately tended to the to the improvement of the estate that paid it. I fhould therefore propose, that the tax should be appropriated to ease the country taxes when raifed; and that I will support any measure of the kind which should be introduced into the house, as a measure highly, beneficial to the industrious part of the community,

The Solicitor General (Mr. J. Toler).—As to the rejecting the Catholic petition by the Commons in the last session, the Rt. Hon. gentleman (Mr. Grattan) would be pleased to recollect that the proposition to reject it was moved by a particular friend of his own, and that the qualified manner in which that proposition was acceded to, amounted to a resistance of the principle that the future discussion of the subject should be precluded; and,

and, that it devolved upon himself on that occasion to move an amendment to the resolution of rejection, to guard against the house concluding or surrendering its deliberative faculties on the Catholic question, which he then foretold that the circumstances of this country, the liberality of the times, and the wisdom of parliament might make it wise to adopt; although the temper of the day was not suited to receive it. I was always of opinion, that although it would be wise to conciliate the Catholics, I will never submit to any measure that should affront the feelings or the spirit of the Protestants.

Gentlemen had argued as if there had been a spirit of persecution peculiar to the policy of Ireland, though the truth is, that there is no country on earth that at present is so little liable to the imputation. Bigotry and fanaticism had been so foothed to rest, that sedition was industrious to rouze them, and make the Catholics forget, that scarcely a session has passed that has not conferred a fubitantial favour from a Protestant parliament with that liberal and enlightened spirit, that had first reared the temple of civil liberty, which I hope the Catholics will approach with reverence and respect. I have every reason to believe, that fuch was their disposition. I long had an opportunity of knowing them, and particularly in the provinces of Munster and Connaught; in the latter of which I found amongst the Catholics as high a fense of honor and loyalty amongst the gentry, and as amenable a disposition amongst the lower order, as could be found in any country in the world. Now, Sir, I do not wish to

leave those men under an opinion, that they are shut out as dangerous aliens, and in an aptitude to be negociated upon by every contemptible agitator that would trade upon those good people, as he may have done on bad poplins, and pretend that he has a power to traffic on their loyalty as he might do on changeable lustrings.

The magnanimity of parliament will put an end to the mischief, and teach them where to look for protection, at the same time that it will enlarge the base on which you stand, and give more fecurity and fymmetry to that pyramidical perfection which is the admiration of the world; it will make discreet use of those solid materials, which though the caution of builders rejected, and although you will not place them at the headstone in the corner, as not suited for the polished ornaments of the structure, will yet contribute to its strength, if not lest loose and scattered so as to be ready for every desperate hand that wishes to affail you. In the progress of this great work, I could wish to look up to the opinion of the experienced and the wife, and would lament if I were to differ in fentiment from any of those whom I have ever revered, or to throw my arrow o'er the house and wound my brother; but I would inculcate the great and divine principle of peace on earth, and good will towards men.

Mr. Grattan's amendment at length passed nem.

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Lord Tyrone gave notice that he did not hold himself pledged in the Catholic business further than discussion.—Adjourned.

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MR. SECRETARY HOBART rose to present to the house the petition of certain Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland and others, on behalf of themselves and their fellow-subjects of the same persuation. Though I am happy in having the opportunity of laying this petition before the house; yet, nevertheless, I do not consider myself pledged to agree with the petitioners in the fullest extent of their desire; when the subject comes regularly before the house, I will state my sentiments more at large; at present I will not trouble the house any further than requesting that the petition might be read.

The petition was then read as follows:

"The petition of John Thomas Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; Dominick Bellew, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala; Richard O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ulster; Thomas Bray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel; Richard M'Cormick, Thomas Fitzgerald, Edward Byrne, Thomas Warren, Denis Thomas O'Brien

O'Brien, Valentine O'Connor, Hugh Hamill, Christopher Bellew, and several others whose names are thereunto fubscribed, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Catholics of Ireland; fetting forth, that the petitioners are fubject to a variety of fevere and oppressive laws, inflicting on them inabilities and difgualifications unknown to any other description of his majesty's fubjects, the further continuation of which they humbly conceive their dutiful demeanor and unremitting loyalty for above one hundred years, must evince to be equally impolitic and unneces-fary; that this system of injurious exclusion has operated not less to the particular depression of the Catholics of Ireland, than to the general obstruction of the true and manifest interests of the country; the petitioners therefore humbly pray, that the house may be pleased to take the whole of their case into consideration, and in conformity to the benign wishes of his majesty, for the union of all his people in fentiment, affection, and interest, to restore the petitioners to the rights and privileges of the constitution of the country.

Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish.—I rise to observe as to the signatures, that I wish the word titular had been prefixed to the word Bishop; I submit it to the friends of the Roman Catholics, to all those who wish to extend privileges to them, whether these signatures should stand as they were?—They assumed a title which did not belong to them, a title which the laws of the country could by no means recognize; nor do I think the words Roman Catholic do away my objection. However, if this objection could be done away, I will not be adverse to having the petition laid on the table.

Nothing was faid in support of the objection urged by Sir Henry, of course it fell to the ground.

The petition was received and ordered to he on the table

Right Hon. Mr. Hohart.—Sir, in venturing to obtrude my fentiments on the house, in a subject of such magnitude, I feel the necessity of soliciting from the house, a degree of indulgence which I have no right to expect. I will, however, attempt to discharge what I feel to be my duty, and, in doing so, I hope gentlemen will believe that I am acting in such a manner as appears most likely to me to consult and to promote the interest of the kingdom.

On the first day of the session I explained my conduct with respect to the Roman Catholics, I will not now repeat what I then said—I will only say, that at all times I acquiesced in whatever measures the house thought proper to adopt.—It was on that account, that when the Catholics had before applied to me, I was unwilling to hold out to them a vain hope, lest that hope frustrated should produce an agitation in the public mind, which could not but be mischievous to the public peace.

I am aware that what I have to propose to the house respecting those people to night, might not possibly meet the general concurrence of gentlemen. It is not my wish or my intention to press any thing upon the house that would not meet general approbation; it is my wish to acquiesce in whatever gentlemen may think the interest of the country;

country; but for my own part I beg leave to fay, that I will never offer any thing to their difcusion in which I do not think myself warranted by just policy and found discretion, much less such subjects as are likely to produce heat and agitation in the country.

I am aware that many of thole gentlemen whom I most respect, are not likely to concur in the measures I would propose; but in this point I trust that I differ from them for the real advantage of the country. I am also aware that in the last sellion of parliament a petition for the very measure I shall now propose had been rejected, and that I myself had voted for that rejection; but I declare, that under the same circumstances, I would again vote for its rejection; it is now evident to every man that the sentiments of the country on this subject had materially altered fince that time; and it is also well known, that at that time the opinion of the country was not ripe for such a sheafure. The circumstances of the present time would, I think, justify a very material alteration in the sentiments of this house.

The conduct of the Roman Catholics has proved that they were perfectly attached to the conflictation and at this particular period, every man who was attached to the conflictation should receive encouragement from this house. I trust luch will ever be the encouragement received by men attached to the constitution. I do not wilh to go more at large into the subject, when I consider how many gentlemen of great ablities there are who understand it so much better than I possible can; I will therefore I 2

briefly state the outline of my intentions, hoping that in them I will be honoured by the concurrence of the house.

My first object, and what the Roman Catholics seem to have at heart, is the right of voting at elections for members of parliament; this I wished to have restored to them. Many opinions has been maintained with respect to the limitations under which this right should be extended to Roman Catholics, but under all the circumstances of the times and of the case, I would recommend the unlimited extension of this franchise; by this the main object would be better answered, and I think it more becoming the house either not to grant at all or to grant liberally.

If this extension would be dangerous to Protestants, they should not offer it, but as there is no such danger as can warrant their refusal of it— I hope you will concur in granting it without limitation; for if there were any reserve or limitation there would still remain a fore place in the Roman Catholic mind.

For this purpose, it will be necessary to repeal a clause in the 1st of Geo. 2.—and I also beg leave to mention, that this will extend to permitting Roman Catholics to vote in cities and towns corporate for magistrates.

The next proposition would be to repeal the 6th of Anne, so far as prohibits Papists from being grand jurors, unless there are not a sufficient number of Protestant freeholders to serve.

The next would be to repeal the 29th of Geo. 2, fo far as allowing a challenge against any Papist on a petit jury, in causes where a Protestant and Papist are the parties.

I also would propose, that his majesty might be empowered and authorised to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a College or University, and Schools.

reflion, to riopt fuch mealures as will tend to

That the laws which prevent them from carrying arms, should be so far repealed as to persons
possessing a certain degree of property—but by no
means so as to put arms into the hands of the
lower order of the people.

As the army and navy, it is in the contemplation of the government of England, to admit Roman Catholics to bear commissions in these departments of the state; and that in due time measures for the same purpose should be proposed here, when a communication with the English government should have been had upon this point.

As to civil offices, I wish Roman Catholics may be enabled to hold them—but in this instance I will suggest the propriety of necessary limitations.

I understand that Roman Catholics labour still under some severities with respect to personal property; these I believe to be merely accidental, and to exist from inadvertence, and these I would propose to repeal.

In thus endeavouring to bring forward fuch measures as were likely to carry into effect his majesty's majesty's recommendation to parliament, I hope and trust that I am acting for the advantage of the country, and in conformity to that disposition which government had manifested to meet the wishes of the people. Government has proved it by having in this session taken up the idea of relieving the lower order of people from the hearth-money tax; and I assure gentlemen, that it is the determination of government in this session, to adopt such measures as will tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom in general.

propositions, which is, that the executive government might be enabled to grant to Roman Catholics commissions of the peace.

I therefore move for leave to britis in a bill for the further relief of his majelty's fubject profelling the Roman Catholic religion and and a religion and

Right Hon. Sit H. Langright weefir, I rife to fecond the motion of my right hon. friend, and to offer my humble affirtance in a measure, to the accomplishment of which my strendous efforts have been directed from my earliest political years.

His majesty's gracious recommendation to you of his Catholic subjects, the liberal sentiments towards them, which have already been so generally disclosed in parliament, and the able manner in which this question has been stated by my right hon friend, have rendered it unnecessary for me to take up much of your time on the present occasion.

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However, Sir, as I feel myfelf under fome particularity of circumbance, having in the last felling on been placed perhaps in an arduous fituation on this subject, I must folicit your indulgence for a thort time, even at this stage, of the bufiness, I have for often, in the Catholic purfuit, contended with adverse currents and opposing forms, that it is natural to suppose, though I do not presume to thare in the triumph. I may yet hope to partake the prefent auspicious gale. I have ever confidered the Roman Catholics as good and loyal fubicate. magnanimous in their inflamings, and confeientions in their allegiance; as fuch I have ever reflected them; as fuch I have ever endeavoured to ferme them. Whave however, always purfued with more folicitude their interesti than their acelamations. more anxious to be infrumental to their happiness. than to be distinguished in their councils, or rewarded by their acknowledbments. I have always endeauoured to ferve them by the causious made. ration, which I thought most likely to be fuccessful, rather than by a more adventuring baldness. which, though it might flatter their feelings, might disappoint their wishes: Well knowings as I do. the value of progressive acquisition; well-knowing the value of every step gained of approximation. between brethren, who had too long been kepte afunden.

If however fome amongh them have thoughts the rate of my progress too tardy; and looked for advocates whose energy is more proportional to their feelings, whose ganius are more aspiring than mine; I can only say, whatever friends they chose, they never had me for their energy, although: I may not have agreed in every expedient which the

the impatience of the moment suggested, nor emulated the superior energy of their more powerful advocates.

In the last fession of parliament, when I had the honor in co-operation with my right hon. friend, to move you for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, I certainly wished with as much ardour as any gentleman who hears me, that the public fentiment, the temper of parliament, the probability of fuccess, had allowed me to make my plan more extensive than that which was adopted; to have connected with the state by nearer and closer ties, so great and valuable a part of the community as the Catholic body. But the impatience of purfuit, and the acrimony of contention were my opponents; circumstances of intemperance on one fide, revived old prejudices on the other, which made me confider accommodation and atchievement. At the fame time, when I confider (as I faid before) the value of progressive acquisition, I must say the concessions of last winter were in themselves important, and their manner inestimable. The unanimity that conceded, stamped a double value on the thing conferred; and whatever (from my own attachment to the Roman Catholics, or the liberal disposition of those with whom I acted) whatever might have been the amount of my wishes, and would have been the extent of my efforts, had I found the occasion favourable; yet, as the friend to the Catholics, I am decidedly of opinion, that any forbearance I might have yielded to on that occasion, was more than recompensed by the unanimity it produced; that unanimity, which was the fymptom of depart-

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ing prejudices, and the token of returning love; that graciousness of concession, sollowed by a grateful acceptance, held out to my view those slattering prospects, which are brightening before me at this day, of still chosen communications of interests and affections between us. The object was a conquest of affection, not competition of power; and the means of success, mutual deserence and conciliation.

I was then fatisfied, and I think so still, that whatever appears from the temper of the times impracticable to be obtained, it is imprudent to folicit; for we know too well, that religious diffentions are not to be conquered by controverly and . recrimination, but must yield to the returning tide of human benevolence; toleration is a plant not to be forwarded by art, or forced by the heat of contention; the excesses of heat and of cold are alike fatal to it. It must be the growth of temperate affiduity, cultivated by the hand of moderation, and matured by the warmth of the heart. And even when toleration itself has been reared, a communication of political power, which is and ought to be amongst its natural productions, cannot in the course of things be instantaneous; like the fruit of the tree, it must be the growth of maturity, and the gift of time.

It has always been the passion and the principle of my mind, to lend my humble assistance to every measure, which in its operation might tend to make the Protestant and Catholic, by the progress of time, grow to be one people; that let them regulate their religious worship under whatever different modes, they may unite in devotion to one K country;

country; like two stems rising from one root, though they may differ in the forms in which they shape their course towards Heaven, yet as they derive from one common origin, and draw their fustenance from the same land, that in their growth they may become a shelter and protection to each other. I have long wished that the time was come, which would form a new æra of Irish concord, of Irish consequence and Irish prosperity, in which religious diffention should be lost in civil operation, in which community of interests, and reciprocal good offices, should root out our prejudices, and unite our hearts. But until the enlightened spirit of liberal policy had given a progress to these rational dispositions a communication of political power could not be expected; for you must reconcile, before you unite; you must assimilate, before you incorporate.

Befide, Sir, every body knows, who knows any thing of the hiftory of the world, that violent and fudden changes of power and property, whether the parties have been divided by religious differtion, or by confederacies on political difference, have always been dangerous, and generally fatal to the state. The fact is, those who have been accustomed to power, cannot bear the privation or sudden diminution of it with patience.—Those who are unaccustomed to it, will not exercise it with prudence; it is the progress of time alone that can reconcile and assimilate; it is the progress of affection alone that can regulate those passions, which make one side intemperate, and the other side intolerant.

And now, Sir, I must beg leave to make an obfervation, suggested to me (I forget where) by a right right hon. friend of mine, in which I agree with him in his fentiments of disapprobation as to the fact, but disagree with him in his suspicions of its origination.

When I recal to your recollection fo difagreeable a circumstance, I do it rather as an admonition for the future, than animadversion on the past. It is true, Sir, that at the time when every thinking man saw the necessity of an union of interests and affections between his majesty's loyal subjects of all persuasions, the most mischievous industry was employed to raise an emulation of ill will, and sow the seeds of perpetual discord between the Protestants and Catholics. It was indeed the work but of a few, but the undisclaimed sentiments of the sew are apt to be considered as the sentiments of the many, and therefore they are injurious.

Whilft I am ready to disclaim the exaggerated and acrimonious charges with which our newfpapers have recriminated on the Catholics, although I cannot but disapprove, as presumptuous, that spirit that would arrogate from futurity, limit the faculties of legislation, bind down posterity, and give to exclusion immortality. Though I reject fuch notions as unjust, and indeed laugh at them as impotent, because, though like the father of Hannibal, you were to carry your fons to the altar, and make them fwear never to be at peace with the Romans, yet neither your votes nor their vows could controul future ages. Though I utterly disclaim such notions as unjust and impolitic, I must, however, with equal justice say on the other hand, on the part of the Roman Catholics, there were circumstances attending the K 2 agitation agitation of this question highly exceptionable. In my opinion it was absurd in a business of this kind for the Roman Catholics to state cases to eminent lawyers, to decide whether their proceedings were or were not defensible within the letter of the law: It had too much the appearance of a guarded hostility; it looked more like the precaution of enmity, than the intercession of amicable intercourse, or constitutional solicitation.

It is not enough that their applications do not violate the laws, they also should not violate the seelings; it is not enough that they are cautious, they should be respectful. No body of men should for a moment suffer themselves, in their pursuits, to be unmindful that there is a settled supreme power in the state; to which, so long as the constitution exists, every man owes respect; that it may be solicited, but must be obeyed; that it may be softened, but must not be subdued.

When the Roman Catholics fay, they wift to there in the rights and privileges of the constitution of their country, they fpeak the language of reason and common fense.—The idea is so natural to the mind of man, that it was unnecessary to convene a great representative body of the Catholics, in order to decide, whether it was or was not their general with, to enjoy the elective franchife and . right of juries. Why to be fure it was their general wish! No Catholic ever afferted or infinuated the contrary; nor if he did, would any Protestant have been dupe enough to believe him. notion is fo congenial to the mind of man, that it is impossible to controvert or condemn it; nay there is a virtue in the wifh, that is a title to its fuccess; however, in the profecution of it, the

best friends of the Catholics could not but lament, that some measures were pursued inflammatory and offensive, tending to revive adverse prejudices, and retard the accomplishment of their own wishes; and I cannot avoid saying, (and I speak from the satal example of a neighbouring kingdom, that your constitution will speedily be extinct, and your liberties prostrate in the dust, if you suffer conventions, associations, committees or clubs, to affert dominion or assume authority in the administration of the public affairs.

I have mentioned those circumstances of apparent animolity on both fides, in order to shew that they were the temporary refult of mutual indifcretion, incidental to every such pursuit as the prefent; and I have mentioned them, because I think the best foundation of mutual reconciliation is a review of our mutual errors; that being over, let them be forgotten; let them be buried in oblivion, never to rife again. And as to the charge made by a right hon. friend of mine against administration for being accessary to this work of animolity, I can affure him, I think I can convince him he was mifinformed. I know the prefent administration always entertained the most liberal fentiments towards the Catholics, and wished to go as far in their service as the temper of parliament would permit, and they ought not to go farther; and last fession of parliament, in the case of the Catholic petition alluded to, if we yielded to a prevailing current, which ran too flrong to be refified, it was to make good our passage, and secure the freight with which we were charged. And let me alk my hon, friend if he does not, from his own observation think, that administration may have to encounter fomething

like resentment for their present favourable dispofition towards the Roman Catholics?

The right hon. member cannot doubt my fincere attachment to the prefent government, yet I will affure him, at the very time when he supposes they and their friends were bufy in promoting these controverses, that I myself (certainly not the least fincere amongst them in my attachment) was employed in publishing to the world the best arguments my poor abilities could furnish to reprobate and repress them. To my Protestant countrymen, I faid in fubstance what I fay now, that religious animofities should expire with the eauses that produced them; that the exclusion of the majority of the people from the privileges of the constitution has lasted long enough; that it could not last much longer, and that it ought not to last any longer.

That national strength can only be maintained by national unanimity, and that communication of benefits is the only bond of general co-operation. To my Catholic brethren I faid, what I now fay, and always faid, that if they like the constitution as it is, I wish they may share in it; if they desire to alter it, I wish they may not approach it; that if they loved the constitution with a pure passion, their solicitation would be respectful, and they would not, like the brutal ravisher, attempt to desire what they wished to enjoy.

I shall only add, concerning the Roman Catholics, what I have already repeated to you, that you remember when they came forward to resist the invasion of a foreign enemy; that you now see them come forward to repel the invasion, not perhaps

perhaps of foreign force, but of foreign principles, more destructive than armies, more cruel than the sword. The old dangers of popery, which used to alarm you, are now extinct to all intents and purposes; and new dangers have arisen in the world, against which the Catholics are your best and natural allies.

You cannot give them a fingle benefit that will not be an additional pledge of their affection, and hostage for their fidelity. Give them the pride of privilege, and you will give them the principle of attachment; admit them within the walls of the constitution, and they will defend them.

Doctor Duigenan. Mr. Speaker, as the Right Hon. gentleman, who has prefented this petition, and brought forward this motion, has at the fame time stated to this house, the heads of his intended bill; and as I have the misfortune to differ in opinion with the right honourable gentleman on every one of these heads, though I have had the honour heretofore of generally concurring in opinion with him on political subjects, I think it a duty I owe to my king and country fully to explain my fentiments on the business now before the house, as it is pretty generally known that his majefty's fervants in this kingdom have taken up this bufiness in consequence of an impression made on his majesty and his ministers in England, that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom labour under many fevere oppressions from the effects of several of the prefent existing laws; and such impression has been made by means of a petition to his majesty at St. James's, on the 2d day of January last; which petition has been lately printed, and circulated through this kingdom with great industry, I the ground-work, on which is to be erected the vast structure of Roman Catholic grandeur and power; the plan of which is delineated in the heads of the proposed bill, as explained to the house by the right honourable gentleman.

When the petition presented lately to his majesty, by and on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, first made its appearance in the public prints, it was infisted upon, as well in the house of lords as in the house of commons, that the copy of this petition inserted in the newspapers, contained a great number of gross misrepresentations, and direct and notorious falsehoods; the sub-committee of the Roman Catholics being a kind of permament body selected out of their general convention, have thought sit, by way of answer to the observations on their petition made in parliament, to publish their petition in a pamphlet with notes, and the following advertisement prefixed to it:

"SUB-COMMITTEE.

" JANUARY 12th 1793,

DENIS THOMAS O'BRIEN in the Chair.

- " IT having been publickly and folemnly aferted,
- " that the petition of the Catholies to his majesty,
- " contained many falsehoods and misrepresen-
- et tations;
 - " RESOLVED THEREFORE,
- "THAT it is necessary to republish that peti-
- " parliament, on which the alledged falfehoods
- * and mifrepresentations are grounded.

" Signed by order,

" JOHN SWEETMAN, Secretary."

I should

I should not condescend to take notice of this fub-committee, or their pamphlet, were it not that they furnish me with an authentic copy of this famous, or rather infamous, petition; every page, and almost every line of which teems with milrepretentation or falfehood : and as the catholics have by this fystem of untruth, deception, and fraud, imposed fo far on his majesty's ministers in England, as to procure a paragraph to be inferted in the speech from the throne, recommending in the king's name to our ferious confideration the fituation of his majesty's catholic fubjects, and that we shall consider the same with liberality; -that is, that we shall consider with attention and favour the fituation of the catholics of this country, as most fallely described in their petition; and as no man in his majesty's dominions is more firmly attached to his majesty's person and government than I am, nor has on every occasion, where I have had an opportunity of exerting myfelf, more clearly manifested that attachment, I have bestowed on this petition,—that is, this alledged fituation of the catholics of this country, my most serious attention, according to the recommendation in the speech; and I shall, as briefly as I can, state to this house my opinion of this petition, and mark the principal mifreprefentations and falsehoods contained in it; in hopes that my voice, however weak, may reach the throne, and rouse the just indignation of our sovereign against a set of persons who have, by fraud and imposition, audaciously attempted to procure his countenance, to the unhinging and difjointing the whole frame of his Irish government; and uprooting foundations which have been laid by wife antiquity, and supported and maintained by the sage policy of two centuries; and which have been strong enough to resist and repel the shocks of three general and most formidable

midable rebellions of the catholic inhabitants of this kingdom, fince the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth of most glorious memory indeed.

This petition commences with deception. The petitioners, on the title of it, denominate themfelves catholics, whereas they are Roman catholics, that is, they are persons who acknowledge the fupremacy of the bishop of Rome, a foreign prince, in fpirituals, as all the Irish who stile themselves catholics, do; and will not allow his majesty to be the supreme head of the church within this kingdom; nor will they take the oath of fupremacy: and I shall demonstrate, before I sit down, that a very great portion of temporal power is incident to, and cannot, by any device, be separated from, the spiritual fupremacy, avowed by the catholics of this kingdom to be vested in the Bishop of Rome: at present, I only just mark the fallacy contained in the very title of this petition, and which is invariably purfued, in this point, through the whole; in which the petitioners conftantly stile themselves catholics without the the adition of Roman. 'Tis thus" old tales represent " the devil when he appears to mortals, cautiously "concealing the cloven foot."

The petition then states, that the catholics of Ireland (as they stile themselves) have for a century last past behaved with uninterrupted loyalty; in which time five foreign wars, and two domestic rebellions, have occurred; and that they have taken every oath of allegiance and sidelity to his majesty, and have given, and been ready to give, every pledge which can be devised, for their peaceable demeanor, and unconditional submission to the

laws.

This short paragraph contains two notorious falsehoods: First, they have not, for a century past, behaved haved with uninterrupted loyalty to the king or state, but have exerted themselves in all the five foreign wars, and the two domestic rebellions, which have occurred within these hundred years last past, against their king and country, to the utmost of their power and ability, and have disturbed this country, and are now disturbing it, with many tumultuous risings in many parts of the country, in which they have practised the most inhuman barbarities on the persons of the clergy and gentry, and committed various murders, burglaries and robberies on them, within

that space of time.

After the furrender of Limerick, in October 1691, the Irish catholics (who had for two years be. fore perfifted in a most obstinate rebellion, which had almost reduced the country to a defart, and in which they had committed all forts of barbarities on the protestants of this country) to the amount of twenty thousand men, preferred going to France, and serving in the armies of that power, the natural enemy of Britam, against their own country. In the military articles of capitulation of the city of Limerick, they had procured an article to be inferted, ftipulating for their transportation to France. The British generals, after the furrender of the town, exerted themselves to persuade the catholic army to re-linquish their intention of going to France, and to stay at home, and follow their different occupations, in their own country; or if they preferred the trade of war, general Ginkle offered to enlift them in the Dutch fervice; these offers they almost to a man rejected; and this catholic army, constantly recruited and officered by the catholics of this kingdom, have remained ever fince in the French fervice, and have uniformly fought, with the greatest inveteracy, against this country, in the five wars with France which have been waged during the last hundred years,

years, at the battles of Fontenoy and Laffeld, in the war with France which ended in 1746. A body of fixteen thousand Irish catholics fought in the army of France against Great Britain in the American war, a large body of Irish catholics, in the service of France, fought, as well on the continent of America, as in the West-India Islands, against Great Britain; and their exploits against their country, at Savannah, at St. Lucia, at St. Kitts, and St. Eustatia, may be found in the Journals of the times, and in the accounts of that war. Stapleton, an Irish catholic from the county of Limerick, commanded a body of 500 Irish catholics in the pay of France, at the battle of Culloden in 1746, and he died at Invernels of the wounds he received in that battle, fighting for the pretender. All the French privateers which infested this channel during the late war, who plundered the British and Irish merchant ships, even in the bay of Dublin, were manned and commanded by Irish catholics,—such as John Kelly, John Field, Luke Ryan, Patrick Dowling and others; and they were furnished with intelligence, with provisions, and even with powder, by Irish catholics from several ports in the channel, in which the wives and families of many of them were then resident. A large body of Irilh catholics have also ferved in the Spanish armies, and fought against their country in all the wars we have had with Spain during the last hundred years. Add to this the infurrections of the white-boys, all catholics, in the South of this kingdom, breaking out at intervals for upwards of twenty years past, and marked by flaughter, desolation, cruelty, and the most bitter animosity against protestant clergy as well as laity; and the present insurrections of the lower order of catholics in the counties of Lowth, Meath Cavan, and Monaghan, and now fpreading

ing into the county of Dublin: whose fury is exercifed in robbing, spoiling, and burning the houses, and the contents of the farm yards of the proteftant inhabitants of these counties, and affaffinating fome of them; and this banditti is particularly active in disarming the protestants, and arming themfelves, with what view it is not hard to guess. With what unparalleled effrontery then do these petitioners affert, that the catholics of Ireland have, for a century last past, behaved with uninterrupted loyalty, when the direct contrary polition is the truth! Can that body of people be faid to behave with loyalty to the state, who supply and recruit the armies of the enemies, whose fons, brothers, and nearest relations, appear in hostile array against the state, as well in wars with foreign nations, as in domestic rebellions, who, for a century last past, have furnished formidable bodies of troops to the natural enemies of the British empire; who perpetually affault and harrafs us with domeftic infurrection, robbery and murder; who are only restrained by their inability, and dread of British vengeance, from tearing the bowels of their country; and, by avowed and open rebellion, manifesting their immortal hatred to the British name and nation; and whose domestic impotence is the only fecurity to the state for domestic peace! If fuch be loyal subjects, then is the wretch, who from private animofity or interest has planned your destruction, whose weakness or cowardice prevents him from executing his plan himself, but who fends his confidential bravoes to effect it.—an honest and honourable man, and your attached and faithful friend! Futile are the excuses for this their conduct, urged by the catholics, that they are precluded from ferving in the British forces by the laws, and that they therefore refort to the French and Spanish standards to procure a livelihood.

heod. Such affertion is untrue, with respect to catholics of inferior degree, as shey themselves state in their petition, that the lowest departments in the British sleets and armies, are largely supplied by their numbers, so that persons of this description may get employment at home. But supposing it true, that catholics are excluded from the British sleets and armies, can they find no other states in Europe to enlist with than the French and Spanish? and can they find no other way of procuring a livelihood in a commercial country, than by turning traitors to their king and country? It would not be a sufficient plea for a highwayman, on his trial for his crimes, to say, that his poverty induced him to commit them.

The second falsehood contained in the paragraph of this petition I have mentioned, is, that the catholics have taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty; and have given, and been ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws.

The catholics of Ireland have never yet taken the following part of the oath of supremacy: "And " I declare that no foreign prince, prelate, state or " potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, or power, fuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, "ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realin." That part of the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by catholics, and which it appears, that very few of them (their vaunted numbers confidered) have yet taken, which relates to the pope and foreign princes, is as follows: " And I do declare that I do " not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other " foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath " or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, " power, fuperiority, or pre-eminence, directly or " indirectly,

"indirectly, within this realm." By the Irish statutes of the 28th of Henry the 8th, chapter the 5th, and of the 2d of Elizabeth, chapter the 1st, laws now existing and unrepealed, the kings and queens of this realm and their successors are declared to be supreme heads of the church of Ireland; and by these two acts, as well as by another statute of the 28th Henry the 8th, chapter 13, the authority and jurisdiction, both temporal and spiritual, before that time claimed and exercised by the Pope in Ireland, are utterly abolished. And by the last statute it is enacted, that if any person shall, by writing or act, maintain the authority of the bishops of Rome, here-tofore used in this kingdom, he shall incur the penalty

of premunire.

It is very notorious, that all the catholics of Ireland acknowledge the authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome in spirituals, within this kingdom: they have always refused, and still refuse, to take the oath of supremacy, acknowledging the king to be the supreme head of the church of Ireland; they not only refuse to acknowledge his majesty, as the supreme governor, spiritual and temporal, within his dominions, but declare that another prince has the spiritual pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and authority, within and throughout the British empire; thus, as far as in them lies, robbing his majesty of one of the brightest and most valuable gems in his imperial crown; and without enjoying which, the history of past ages shews us, that he is but half a king within his own dominions. That it is impossible to wrest an immense degree of temporal power and dominion from the person who is acknowledged to possess the supreme spiritual power, the experience of all antiquity fnews. In truth the bishop of Rome, (except in two or three instances, when he claimed to be lord paramount of certain kingdoms, which he alledged to be holden

den as temporal fees from the temporal patrimony of St. Peter, fuch as Naples, and England, in the time of king John) never claimed any temporal authority in any kingdom in christendom, fave as it was inseparably annexed to, and connected with, the exercise of his spiritual power, that the claim of the pope to fpiritual authority within the realm, supported unequivocally by all the catholics of Ireland, invests him, ipjo facto, with a vast portion of temporal power, can be proved to demonstration by numberless instances. I shall just mention one, on the lawfulness of matrimony, depends almost entirely, the fuccession to all temporal property, whether real or personal. Matrimony by the catholics is held a facrament, its validity is entirely of spiritual jurisdiction; if the pope then, as catholics hold, has the fupreme and final jurisdiction in this particular, fee what temporal power he must derive from it; he must in all cases decide, whether a person, claiming under his father or his mother, is intitled to the succession to their real or personal property, because such decision will depend on the validity of their marriage; he must decide, whether a party has or has not a right to intermarry with another, or whether a party is barred from that right by confanguinity, affinity, pre-contract or former marriage; he must finally decide on maintenance, alimony, or whether a man is, or is not, to pay the debts of a woman who claims to be his wife; with a thousand other temporal incidents. Observe what opinion the parliament of this country, just escaping from the fangs of the pope's ulurped authority, entertained of the temporal effects of the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, exercifed in the case of matrimony alone.

In an Irish statute enacted in the thirty-third year of Henry the 8th, entitled, " an act for marriages,"

are the following paffages: "Whereas heretofore " the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, hath " always entangled and troubled the mere juridiction " and regal power of this land of Ireland, and also " ulurped power in them, as by making that unlaw-" ful, which by God's word is lawful, both in " marriages and other things, whereof forme fparkles " be left, which hereafter might kindle a great fire." The statute then proceeds, " that it was cuffornary " for the court of Rome to divorce parties who had " been long married and had iffue, on the pretence " of pre-contracts without confummation, and of " kindered between cousins german, and so to fourth " and fifth degrees, and of carnal knowledge of any " of the fame kinne or affinity before, in fuch out-" ward degrees, to procure money for dispensations: " whereby not only much discord between lawful married " persons hath arisen, much debate and suit at law, " with wrongful vexation; and great damage of the " innocent parties hath been procured, and many just " marriages in doubt and danger of undoing, and alfo " many times undone, and lawful heirs difinherited, and "marriages have been brought to such an uncertainty thereby, that no marriage could be so sure knit and " bounden, but it should lie in either of the party's " power to defeat the same."

The catholics of this country, under this pretended spiritual power of the pope, in defiance of the statutes of Elizabeth, and William the third, against all catholics who should attempt to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this realm, have endeavoured, in the point of marriage, to establish and exercise here, all this reprobated jurisdiction of the pope. 'Tis avery short time since I was consulted as an advocate, by a very humane and worthy Baronet, representative in this parliament of a large and populous county, for my advice, in what

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method

method he should proceed to procure a remedy for an injured female, on the following case: Two tenants of the baronet agreed to intermarry, they lived in the next parish to that in which the baronet refided, and being both catholics, they were married at the baronet's request in his parish, and by the priest of his parish, and not by the priest of the parish in which they resided; after they had cohabited some time together, they were cited by the catholic vicar-general of the diocese of Tuam, to appear before him, and he declared their marriage to be null and void, on the fingle ground of their having been married by the parish priest of the neighbouring parish, and not by the priest of their own parish; the vicar-general alleging, that all marriages, celebrated by any other perion than the priest of the parish, in which the parties lived, without a special dispensation for the purpose, was a clandestine marriage, and that all clandestine marriages were decreed void by the council of Trent.

Will any reasonable man affert, that the exercise of such a spiritual power will not directly affect and invade the temporal rights of the subject, in his dearest and nearest interests? I omit further instances of the inseparability of spiritual power from temporal, though a thousand could be given; and I refer any man, who has a mind further to investigate this subject, and to convince himself, that the person armed with the whole spiritual power in any state, will necessarily have a vast temporal power annexed to it, and inseparable from it, to Dr. Warburton's treatise,

The Alliance.

From what I have faid, I think I have made it pretty clear, that as long as the catholics refuse to take the oath of supremacy, and persist in such refusal; and whilst they deny and impugn that supremacy, and maintain the supremacy in spirituals of a foreign potentate, it is an impudent untruth

to affert, that they have taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour, and unconditional submission to the laws. And I submit it to this house, that I have clearly shewn, that the two foundations on which they build their whole merits in this petition, are fallacious, unsubstantial, and rotten; and that consequently, the whole su-

perstructure must fall to the ground.

The next three paragraphs in this petition state, that catholics are excluded from every office of trust or emolument, civil or military, from all officers in corporations, and that the law forbids them to found or endow any univerfity, college or school for the education of their children. It is to be ob-ferved, that the condition of the catholics in this kingdom, is the very fame with the condition of all differers from the established church in England an all the above particulars, except that the English protestant diffenters may found schools; and that it as highly unreasonable in the Irish catholics to expect, that the existing laws here should be changed in those particulars, till the English nation shall think fit to repeal the test and corporation acts, and admit catholics to all employments of trust and profit, civil and military; into all their corporate bodies; and permit them to found and endow univerfities, colleges and schools, for the home manufacture of Romish priests; a measure which I will venture to affirm, no English minister will presume to attempt. But it is here to be observed, that if the Irish law, which excludes catholics from all military employments, was to be repealed, they could reap no advantage from it; for the fleet is entirely British, and the employments in it are disposed of to such persons only as are qualified to take them by the English laws, which exclude catholics. The fame may be faid, of all employments

ments in the army, for they are disposed of by the king, and the whole army is British; though part of it, whilft employed in this country, is paid by this country, and is therefore faid to be on the Irish establishment. If the king should confer military commissions, in such part of his army as is on the Irish establishment, on catholics, he would act in direct violation of the English laws, which we may rest affured his present majesty never will. And if the acts which exclude catholics from military employments were repealed in Ireland, and catholics appointed to fuch employments, the moment any regiment on the Irish establishment should be ordered out of the kingdom, all commiffions of catholics ferving therein, would be null and void. This exclusion of catholics from all places of trust or emolument, civil or military, is thus with peculiar modesty described in the petition: " A profcription which difregards capacity or merit, " admits of neither qualification or degree, and " rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the " whole body of catholics." Is not this most decent language for petitioners? They infert in their petition, the bitterest invective against the general policy of the British constitution; and to mislead the ignorant of their persuasion, they represent themselves as being solely affected by the exclusion, though it extends in general to all differers from the established church: And I am bold to fay, as no class of diffenters amongst his majesty's subjects, except the Roman catholics, deny the king's fupremacy in spirituals, so far as to vest it in a foreign potentate, that they, more particularly than any other class of diffenters, should be the objects of distrust to the government, and excluded from all places of trust or profit, civil or military, as they acknowledge two fovereigns, and divide their allegiance

giance between two mafters, by a fort of ideal boundary, in its own nature incapable of being defined.

The next observation in their petition is a rank misrepresentation, to wit. " That their exclusion " from corporations gives an advantage over ca-" tholics, to the members of ithem, who thereby s establish through the kingdom a species of quali-" fied monopoly, uniformly operating in the disfa-" your of catholics, contrary to the spirit and " highly detrimental to the freedom of trade." this misrepresentation the catholics endeavour to induce his majesty to believe, that it is unjust, impolitic, and detrimental to trade, to permit any corporation to continue within this kingdom, and that they thould be therefore all diffolved and abolished, or that they should be opened, (that is, confidering their numbers) furrendered into the hands of the catholics. These two schemes, respecting corporations, are the favourite plans of the prefent fet of reformers of the constitution; a kind of levelling, independent, republican, deiftical faction; whose apostles are, Paine, Price, and Priestley. The members of corporations being all protestants, and returning protestant members to parliament, certainly form a strong barrier against the projected invation of the catholics; and corporations thus modelled, are the bulwarks of the protestant constitution of this country: Forty boroughs were created in the reign of James the 1st, when the crown had a right by its patents to create boroughs, for the express purpose of throwing the balance into the scale of the protestants in parliament; which measure was most violently opposed by the catholics of that age; and we ought to guard our boroughs, with a vigilance and activity, proportioned to the violence of the exertions of the united factions of levellers and catholics, either to destroy,

destroy, or engross them. But it is utterly untrue, that the members of any corporation in this kingdom, derive any advantage in trade over others who are not members of it; this falsehood was stuffed into the petition, to aggravate the bead-roll of pretended grievances of catholics. What advantages in trade have the members of the corporations of Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, over the catholic inhabitants of these cities? when Paine, Priestley, and Price, first published their seditious trash, reflecting on the constitution established, on the score of unequal representation of the people in the house of commons, and instanced Manchester and Birmingham as having no representatives in parliament, whilst towns of little or no note returned representatives: The wealthy traders, both of Manchester and Birmingham, reprobated the idea of their being converted into corporate towns; justly dreading evil consequences to their industry and trade, from riots, drunkenness, and diffipation, attending the canvassing for votes, and the elections of representatives in parliament. These great opulent towns find no advantages in trade from their not being corporate towns, and from their not enjoying the expensive franchises of corporate bodies, nor have the catholics of Ireland any cause whatever to complain on a similar account.

Another grievance the catholics complain of in their petition, that they are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin (if they are serious in considering it a grievance, which I much doubt) is what I hope I shall never see redressed; catholics have a right as the law now stands, to set up and establish schools in every part of the kingdom, for the education of their youth; let that content them, and let them not expect to obtrude themselves into a participation of the emoluments.

luments of an University, founded, and partly endowed by Elizabeth, the great patroness of the reformed religion, and whose endowments have been augmented by our fuccessive monarchs, for the fole purpose of planting in this kingdom a learned protestant colony, for the education of a pious ministry, and the supply of missionaries to reclaim the bigotted and ignorant natives from the errors of popery. God forbid, that I should ever see the pious intentions of the royal founders frustrated, by the conversion of this seminary, and its revenues, to the fupport and encouragement of popery, or its hallowed walls made the residence of fuperstition and treason: if, however, it shall be determined by our rulers that our university shall be opened to the catholics, let the British ministry lead the way, and first procure an act of parliament in England, for opening the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge to catholics, from attaining any degree, in which, catholics are barred by English acts of parliament, and then perhaps the bitter potion of conferring academical degrees in the university of Dublin on catholics, may be more readily swallowed by the infatuated, betrayed, and deferted protestants of this country. It is here necessary to remark, that catholics are not interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the charter and statutes of that university only; but by the Irish act of the 2d of Eliz. chap. 1. fec. 10. which, though enacted before the foundation of the university of Dublin, yet, by special words, extends to all universities, which should, after the date of that act, be founded or established. in this kingdom.

The next paragraph of the petition relates to the laws which reftrain papifts from carrying arms; laws certainly very necessary when they were enacted, and, from recent experience, very proper to

be now rigorously enforced. Exclusive of the direct falsity of part of this passage, no paragraph ever teemed with grosser misrepresentation and fraud; if suppression of the necessity of enacting them, of all circumstances of mitigation end exception in the laws themselves, and of their duration, execution, and effects, are to be considered as misrepresentation and fraud.

First, the petition states, that catholics are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of their houses, families, and persons, whereby they are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, or affaffination: This is at once a suppression of truth, and a fuggestion of falsehood; they suppress the truth, that all the statutes enacted to prevent catholics from keeping arms in this kingdom, give a power to the lord lieutenant and privy council, to licence any catholic they may think fit, to keep and carry arms; and that no catholic nobleman, gentleman, or even farmers of respectable characters, have ever been refused such licenses, when they have properly applied for them; and that fuch licenfe is to be granted without any gratuity, fee, or reward, fave one shilling for the writing thereof; and they fuggest a falsehood in stating, that they are totally prohibited from Heeping or using weapons. Next, in mentioning the statute enacted for the suppression of a dangerous catholic bandittis, called whiteboys, in the 15th and 16th years of his present majesty's reign, who ravaged feveral parts of this kingdom by intervals, for feveral years, exercifing the most unheard-of cruelties, on the peaceable and unoffending protestant inhabitants; they state, that every catholic of whatever degree, peer or peafant, is compellable by any magnifrate to come forward, and convict himself, of keeping arms for his defence; or, if he refuses so to convict himself, he may not only incur fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious

ignominious punishment of pillory and whipping. In this paragraph also, the suppression of truth, and fuggestion of falsehood, are very notorious and remarkable: First, all catholics are not subject to the provisions of this act, but such only as are not duly licensed by the lord lieutenant and privy council, to keep or carry arms: Secondly, the act provides, " That no person shall be convicted, or " incur any penalty, for any offence, upon any con-" fession or discovery he or she shall make, on being " examined on oath before a magistrate, nor shall " any fuch examination be given in evidence against " the person so examined, unless such person shall " be indicted for having committed wilful perjury " on fuch examination." From hence it appears to be utterly untrue, that any catholic is compellable by any magistrate, to come forward, and by his own confession convict himself of any offence, or that he can incur any penalty for an offence difclosed by fuch confession. Thirdly, as the petition is worded, it is infinuated, that a person refusing to appear before a magistrate, and to be examined as directed by the act, may incur the punishment of fine and imprisonment, and also that of pillory and whipping; and on this part of the act the petition makes a most pathetic, and at the same time an inflammatory remark, for the purpose of exciting the refentment of their fect; but no catholic, as the act is worded, can be punished at all for refusing to appear before a magistrate, and be examined according to the act, provided he has obtained a license for keeping and carrying arms, nor can he be punished in any manner, unless he shall be indicted, tried and convicted for fuch refusal, nor can the punishments of fine and imprisonment, and also whipping and pillory, be inflicted on the same person for the same offence; it is left to the discretion of the judge, who tries the offender, if he shall be found

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guilty, to inflict the punishment either of fine and imprisonment, or that of pillory and whipping. And it is very well known, that when a statute gives fuch a diferetion, the punishment of pullory or whipping was never inflicted on any malefactors, but on those of the lowest and meanest degree, as were indeed the generality of white-boys, for the suppresfion of whom this statute was enacted. The affertion therefore that all catholics, peers or pealants, may, by the operation of this act, he subjected to the ignominious punishment of pillory and whipping, is a mifrepresentation. The petition also suppresses most fraudulently, the last clause of this flatute, which is in the words following:-AND whereas it is intended that this law shall " be in force no longer than public necessity "Thall require; be it further engeted, by the au-" thority aforesaid, that this act shall continue in " force to the 24th day of June, 2778, and no " longer." This flatute, it is true, has been contimed from time to time, because the disorders for the suppression of which it was enacted have contimued from time to time; nay, fimilar diforders are now committing in the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, Meath, and Dublin, by a banditti, all cathoacs, calling themselves DEFENDERS, with a maligment activity, which has, as yet, generally evaded or defeated the utmost exertions of the standing army to suppress them. But the catholic petition has omitted to fate, that this act will expire with the next fession of parliament, unless the outrages of their own feet shall render it necessary to continue it. It will be naturally supposed by his majesty and his ministers in England, from the tragical complaints respecting the incapability of Irish catholics to keep arms, contained in the petition, that the frish statutes have in that particular been rigidly executed. With what aftonishment then must they

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be struck, when informed that these laws have been feldom put in execution, and then never generally, but in small diffricts of the country, which have been infelted by dangerous commotions, and infurrections of eathories! Mr. Harris, in his history of king William, published in the year 1743, states, that the act of the 7th of king William, intitled, " an " act for the better lecuring the government by " difarming papifts;" of which the act of the 13th of George the 2d, for difarming papifts, is an amendment, has been rarely executed, except upon the apprehension of invasion or public disturbance; and even then, with all possible lenity and moderation: And to prove that the clauses in the act of the 15th and 16th of his present majesty, respecting the difarming of catholics, have never been carried into execution, except in times of public infurection and disturbance, and then too, amongst the meanest of the people; and that no person has ever pet fuffered the punishment of pillory and whipping under that act, I can fafely appeal to the teltimony of all the inhabitants of this kingdom, whether catholics or protestants. That catholics, in any degree superior to the very lowest of the mob, never had any apprehension, that the provifions in this act were intended to affect them, or ever would be executed against them, appeared most manifestly during the featon of volunteering in this country, which commenced subsequent to the passing of that act; the catholics; not only mixed with protestants in most of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, were regimented, carried arms publicly, and learned military tactics; but they formed themselves into large and numerous corps, well armed, accoutred, and instructed in soilitary exercise, and marched, and appeared in milltary array on all occasions, as other volunteers. I faw myfelf a corps of Dublin volunteers, called N 2

the Irish Brigade, nineteen in twenty of which were catholics, march through the city of Dublin, and close to the gates of the castle, the residence of his majesty's lieutenant, along with other volunteers, to be reviewed in his majesty's Phoenix-park. I had the curiofity to count the volunteers on that day, as it was a review of all the volunteers in the province of Leinster; I stood on Effex-bridge, and counted them accurately, and as well as I now recollect, they amounted to about two thousand men, and no more; of which about one third were ferviceable men, if called to action; of this whole number, the Irish Brigades amounted to fix hundred, and all the other volunteers of the city of Dublin amounted to about four hundred only; fo that the catholics of Dublin then in arms, without a man of them having a license to carry arms, or having ever applied for one, exceeded all the proteftant corps of the city of Dublin, by about two hundred, and this in the view, and as it were under the nose of government. Does not this prove to a demonstration, that the better fort of catholics never imagined that the statute of the 15th and 16th of his present majesty tended to, or ever would be put in execution against them.

The next paragraph of the petition is one continued mifrepresentation. It states, that the personal property of all catholics is insecure, that the law allows and encourages the disobedient child to conform, and deprive the catholic parent of it; and that the father does not, by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose, he may be attacked by new bills, if his suture industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law. This misrepresentation arises, either from a misconstruction of the acts of the 2d of Ann. chap. 6th, intitled, An act to prevent the surther growth of popery; and of the 8th of Ann. chap. the 3d, intitled, An act

to explain and amend the aforefaid act of the fecond of Anne, and the act of the 17th and 18th of his present majesty, chap. 49; or, from the scheme of fraud and impolition, so unremittingly purfued through the whole performance; from the notes annexed to the edition of this petition, published by the catholic sub-committee, I am convinced it did not arise from ignorance, but from premeditated defign of imposition. The two aforefaid acts of the 2d and 8th of Queen Anne, the first to prevent the growth of popery, and the other to explain and amend the first, form but one act of parliament in effect, and are always confideted in law as two parts of one whole: The act of the fecond of Anne, in fection the third, gives the conforming child of a popish parent, a night to file a bill in chancery against the parent, stating the degree and ability of the parent, and his or her conformity, and praying, that the chancellor may decree a maintenance and portion to fuch child out of the parent's effects, fuitable to the degree and ability of such parent: The portion which the act enabled the chancellor to decree on fuch bill, not to be payable till the death of fuch parent. Under the word ability, this act subjected both the real and perfonal estate of the catholic parent to the maintenance and portion of the conforming child. This act of the 2d of Anne, the catholic parents of that age, very eafily eluded by fictitious conveyances, judgments, and incumbrances: And there was also some difficulty in determining, what the child should perform, in respect to conformity, in order to intitle him to relief under this act: To remedy these defects the statute of the 8th of Anne was enacted. giving the conforming child no new remedy against the catholic parent, but it regulates and lettles what the conforming child must do, to entitle him to file a bill against his parent for a maintenance and portion; and it obliges the parent to discover

on with the true value of his real and personal Mates over and above all bould fedd incumbrances; writter is the charcellor enabled by the 8th of Anne to make any clocree on fach bill, fave fuch decree as the was embled to make by the act of the 2d of Arme : and he is also marticularly refrained during: the life of the asthelic parent from giving more to his protestant conforming child or children, for fupport and maintenance, than one-third of the perional and real elate of the parent, and he was selt at liberty to give as much less as he in his thiseretion might think bit. It is admitted, that real citates of datholics are exempted from any charge for their conforming children, by the laws forme time fine chaded in this kingdom, but, it is suggested, that their personal estates are still liable, which furpertion is founded on the following quibble: By the act of the 19th and 18th of his present maselly it is enacted, " That no maintenance or por-" fron shall be granted to any child of a populh " parent, upon a bill filed against fuch parent, " pursuant to the act of the 2d of Queen Anne, out of " the personal property of such papilt, except out " of fuch leafes which papills may hereafter take " under the powers granted in the act of the 17th " and 18th of his majefty; any thing contained in " any act or flutute to the contrary in anywife not-" withflanding." The quiable is thus; this act exemps the perional offate of catholics from maintenances and portions, which heretofore might have been decreed, an a bill filed under the act of the ad of Anne, and not from maintenances and portions which may be yet decreed, on a bill filed under the ect of the 8th of Anne, for it does not at all mention the 8th of Ame; but, I trust, I have already thewn that the bill given to a conforming child under the ad of Anne, is the very fame bill given under the 8th of Anne, that both acts are to be considered as different parts of one act only; and .

and that, if the chancellor is prohibited by the 17th and 18th of his prefent majesty, from giving any portion or maintenance to the conforming said of a catholic, on a bill filed by fuch conforming child, purfuant to the 2d of Anne; he is also probibited from giving any portion of meintenance to the conforming child, on a bill filed under the 8th of Anne: for both bills are one and the fame bills with respect to their scope and prayer, and the relief to be given upon them. It is impossible to form e bill for maintenance and portion under the 8th of Anne, which will not also be a bill for the same purpose, under the 2d of Anne. And the words in the recited clause of the 17th and 18th of his prefent majesty, " any thing contained in any act or " flatute to the contrary notwithstanding," form a fweeping clanfe, including the 8th of Anne, and every other flatute, if any there is, which could in any manner ferve to countenance the quibale ; Leafes for long terms of years taken by catholics between the year 1778 and 1782, are liable yet to maintenance and portions for conforming children; but catholics may easily prevent it, either by felling fuch leafes, or furrendering them, and taking new ones for the remainder of the terms. No inflance can be given of any bill filed in chancery by a conforming child against a catholic pa rent, for portion and maintenance, fince the year 1778; which is a proof, if one was wanted, that no fuch bill is maintainable: and the catholics of Ireland may rest assured, that they have full power and authority, as the laws now stand, to starve their conforming children, who depend on them for support, if any of them hereafter shall dare to conform so the protestant religion.

The two next paragraphs state, the exclusion of catholics from grand juries, unless there he a deficiency of protestants; and from petit juries in some cases;

cases; and the consequences, deduced in the petition, of this exclusion, from a mass of exaggerated misrepresentations and falsehood. Of their exclusion from grand juries, they state the following hardships as the consequences.

First. That they are deprived of that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neigh-

bours and equals.

Secondly, that they are thereby deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by their peers.

And thirdly, That it is manifest injustice, to have their property taxed in affestiments, by a body from

which they are formally excluded.

As to the first suggested hardship, it is a falsehood. There is no principle of the law which fays, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence. unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; the verdict of one jury of twelve men, will convict or acquit any person who is tried before them for a capital crime; and neither catholic or protestant commoner, can be convicted of any crime, capital or otherwise, except by the verdict of twelve men, his neighbours and equals, (that is, twelve commoners, his peers,) given upon his trial. This falsehood, I suppose, they will attempt to support by a passage in Blackstone's Commentaries, mistated by them, and perhaps misunderstood, which is as follows: "That no man " can be convicted at the fuit of the King, of any capital offence, unless by the unanimous voice, (not verdict) of twenty-four of his equals, and " neighbours; that is, by twelve at least of the " grand jury, in the first place, affenting to the acculation, and afterwards, by the whole petit " jury of twelve more, finding him guilty on his

" trial." And in the preceding page, the fame author states, " That the grand jury are only to hear " evidence on behalf of the profecution; for finding " an indictment, is only in the nature of an enquiry " or accusation, which is afterwards to be tried and " determined; and the grand jury are only to en-" quire upon their oaths, whether there be fufficient " cause to call upon the party to answer it;" Thus it is evident, that a grand jury tries no man, and gives no werdict. Catholics have the same advantage as protestants, of that maxim of law, that no man can be convicted of any capital offence, except by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his neighbours and peers; that is, by the affent of twelve grand jurors, all commoners, to the propriety of putting the indictment or the accusation into a way of trial, and to the determination of his guilt, by twelve petit jurors, all commoners also, and his peers, on their oaths on the trial, which is called a verdict : And no catholic can be found guilty of any capital of fence, except by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his neighbours and peers.

The fecond hardship complained of, by the exclusion of catholics from grand juries, is also a notorious falsehood, viz. that catholics are deprived thereby of a trial by their peers; for a grand jury tries no man, but only puts him upon his trial, and catholics, as well as protestants, can be only tried by their peers; unless the ridiculous affertion shall be maintained, that protestant and catholic commoners are not peers to each other, in the legal sense of the word peers; and catholics may serve indifferently with protestants, in all petit juries, for the trial of all offences, whether capital or otherwise, except offences under the popery laws, such as enlisting men for foreign service, &c. in which cases, it would be the highest absurdity to suffer

esthelies to ferve on petit juries, to try perfors for crimes, of which they themselves are daily guilty.

The third hardflip deduced by the petition from the exclusion of catholics from grand juries is, that it is manifest injustice to have their property taxed in afferfinents by the grand juries, from which they are formally excluded; grand juries are felected from among the principal gentlemen of the counties at the differetion of the sheriffs, they cannot exceed twenty-three in number, and are not elected, they are impowered by law to lay afferiments on the landholders of the counties, for dounty purposes; all the landholders without distinction are subject to the payment of their feveral proportions of these asfeffinents, which are generally apportioned by the mamber of seres they respectively occupy; the grand jurors themselves pay as well as others; and all the protestants of a county who are not grand jurors, have as much reason to complain of these asfeffments as the Roman Catholics.

The hardfhip which the catholies deduce from their exclusion in some cases from petit junes is, that they are in a worse condition in their native country then aliens, for aliens may demand an equitable privilege denied to catholics, of having half their jury ahers like themselves. The exaggeration contained in this complaint is remarkable; they reprefent themselves in every case which can come to be tried before a jury, as in a worfe condition than aliens, though they are not excluded from ferving on petit juries on any civil case, except on trials of actions between protestants and catholics; and that too, provided they are challenged, and the thidlenge proved; and they well know that fuch challenges are very feldom made, nor are they exchaded from ferving on petit juries on the trial of many criminal matter whatfoever, except on the trial of offences under the popery laws; in which cases,

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as I have already observed, it would be about to permit them to ferve; the complaint also that ther are in a worle condition than aliens, because queltions of property between them and protestants may perhaps be tried by protestants only; (a regulation which their own inveterate hatred of proteftants, their universal claim to all estates in this kingdom now enjoyed by protestants, as estates of which their ancestors have been upually deprived. and their envy of the industry and prospenty of protestants, made absolutely necessary) should open the eyes of all protestants in this country, and point out to them the guile and fraud of the catholic party, who are now coaxing and foothing them into a furrender of every thing that can give protestants any fecurity for the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, their lives, and their estates, by stiling them in their publications their brethern; when at the fame time their petition states that they look upon themfelves in a worse condition than aliens, because their claims of property, and the offences they may commit. are in fome few cases of absolute neocifity for the fake of justice, to be tried by protestants only; that is, by those whom they have lately affected to stile their brethern.

I come now to the last complaint in the petition, to wit, the incapacity of catholics to vote at the elections of representatives in parliament; this incapacity they set forth as the badge of unmerital disgrace and ignominy; and as the cause and bitter aggravation of all their other calamities. In all the prior parts of their petition they deal in bold and shameless falseboods, in clumity groundless aggravation, do notorious missepresentation, supposition of teath and miserable quibbles; but on the subject of their incapacity of voting, they have exhausted all their incapacity of voting, they have exhausted all their eloquence, all their art, curning, powers of deception, safebood, aggravation, missepresentation, and

all the piteous and pathetic declamation, which lay within the stores of the whole fraternity. They endeavour to persuade his majesty, that the deprivation of the elective franchise has reduced them to the most miserable state it is possible to degrade human creatures to; that exclusion from the elective franchise, subjects them to every evil and missortune to which human nature is liable. After this samentatable exordium, they proceed to state the evils particularly, to which exclusion from the elective franchise subjects them.

First, that they are taxed where they are not represented actually or virtually; and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or

withhold their affent.

Secondly, that it happens continually, and from the malignant nature of the law, of necessity must happen, that multitudes of the catholic tenantry in divers counties in the kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for protestant freeholders, to support the interest of their landlord, and that this uncertainty of possession of the catholic tenantry, discourages industry and cultivation, and prevents the improvement of the kingdom.

Thirdly, that many catholics, to preserve their families from total destruction, and presering perjury to famine, submit not a nominal conformity against their conscience, and take oaths which they do not

believe.

As to the first grievance suggested to arise from the exclusion of catholics from the elective franchise; that of their being taxed where they are not represented actually or virtually; and bound by laws, in the framing of which they cannot express affent or dissent; it is proper to observe, that in all their late publications, and in this petition, they state, that the protestants of Ireland amount to one-fourth

of the inhabitants only, which altogether amount to four millions; confequently the protestants, by their statement, amount to one million. The legislature of this country, as well as of England, has thought fit to prescribe certain qualifications, without the possession of which no person is allowed to vote for representatives in parliament; and by our constitution the legislature has an undoubted right fo to do. One of these qualifications in Ireland as to voters in counties is, that every voter shall have a freehold of the yearly value of forty shillings at the least; another, which extends to all voters whether in counties or boroughs is, that the voters shall be protestants. It is computed that all persons who enjoy the elective franchise in Ireland, whether in counties or boroughs, do not exceed the number of fixty thoufand; so that there are in Ireland, nine hundred and forty thousand protestants who do not enjoy the elective franchife, admitting, for argument's take, the calculations of the catholics, as to the relative numbers of the inhabitants of this kingdom, to be true; and the number of protestants excluded from the elective franchise in Ireland, are to those protestants who enjoy it in the proportion nearly of eighteen to one; hence, eighteen out of nineteen of the proteftant inhabitants of Ireland are in the felf fame condition, in respect to exclusion from the elective franchife with the catholics; and if the catholic pofition is true, are not actually or virtually represented in parliament. It must be here remarked, that both in England and Ireland, the whole commons in the realm have been hitherto supposed to be, both actually and virtually represented by the house of commons, though the members of the house have not for ages past been elected by the whole commons of the realm, but by comparatively a fmall part only; that catholics, by conforming and qualifying themselves as the laws of the state direct, may attain

attain the elective franchife, and that all persons who possess a capability of becoming electors, though not actually electors, are supposed to be represented in parliament. I will not here enter into any further disquisition respecting actual or virtual representation, but I will venture to assist, that in large states, which possess extensive territory and population, it is utterly impracticable to extend the elective franchise to all conditions of people, and at the same time support any regular form of government, and that the plan of election, now adopted by the French assassins, will, as long as it lasts, be attended by anarchy, public

confusion, and calamity.

The second evil which the petition states, that catholics endure by their exclusion from the elective franchife, and on the foore of which they utter the most pitiful exclamations, is, " that fuch is the malignity of this law of exclusion, that from its very nature, it is the cause of the expulsion of the catholic tenantry from their farms, of the amcertainty of their tenures, and of the confequent defolation of the kingdom. This is one of the most imprudent falsehoods that ever was advanced in any age or country; there is scarce one gentleman in this house acquainted with the internal flate of this country, who does not know it to be a fallehood; it being now the almost universal mode of letting lands in Ireland, for the landlord to advertise his lands at the expiration of a deale, to be det to the best and highest bidder, and to let them accordingly, without confidering the religion of the tenant, but merely his dolvenoy, and the price he offers; but I will demonfrate it to be a fallehood from their own state of their case, and their own reasoning. The catholics of Ireland, as they flate, amount to three fourths of the whole inhabitants; the protestant inhabitants can therefore amount only to the one fourth; the catholics, who apply themselves to farming

farming and country bufinels, exceed the protestants of the fame class in a much greater portion than their relative numbers bear, from reasons not now necessary to enumerate: So that supposing the catholic calculation of numbers to be true, the catholic farmers must exceed the protestants in the proportion of at least fix to one. Hence it is impossible that the affertions contained in the catholic petition, respecting the expulsion of catholic tenantry in favour of protestants, can be true; because, if a protestant landlord was ever so much inclined to expel his catholic tenantry, and fubflitute protestants in their room, it is impossible for him, from want of protestants, to gratify such inclinations; and it is evident to demonstration, from the statement of the catholics in the petition, that fix parts in feven of the kingdom must be laid waste, and the protestant landlords all ruined, if they should expel their catholic tenantry, in expectation of procuring protestant tenants. Thus I have convicted the catholics of downright falfehood in this particular, from their own statement in their petition.

The third grievance, which the petition alleges to be a consequence of the exclusion of catholics from the elective franchise, and for the remedy of which they appeal with the greatest energy to his majesty's piety, clemency, and commiseration, is, that several catholics, to prevent themselves from being expelled from ther farms, and thereby, with their families becoming the prey of famine, conform to the protestant religion against their consciences, and perjure themselves by taking oaths they do not believe. I have already shewn that no such grievance as the expulsion of catholics from ther farms in consequence of electioneering schemes exists, or ever did exist, in this kingdom; and if the statement of the catholics contained in their petition be true, it is impossible it could, or can exist, and therefore

no fuch consequence can follow from it as this third pretended grievance. I do indeed admit, that at all county elections in this kingdom, there are to be found catholics wicked enough to perjure themfelves by fwearing that they are not catholics, to enable themselves to vote; and this is partly admitted in the writs of Edward Byrne, after mentioned; but they do this voluntarily, and are not induced by any necessity or causes, fave their depravity, avarice, and perhaps ambition, to do fo; and I hope the election laws in this kingdom will be never changed on account of fuch wicked miscreants, who are as ready to perjure themselves on any other account, if paid for it, as on elections; and who have caused the words " Irish Evidence" to be echoed throughout Great Britain, as terms of proverbial difgrace to this

The petition, after stating a string of grievances, which I have shewn never had existence, as proceeding from the exclusion of catholics from the elective franchife, then proceeds to claim this franchife as a right, and founds the claim of right of the catholics on as bold untruths as any contained in the former part of their petition, or rather bolder; for the principal fallehood on which the petitioners ground it, flands refuted by the public records, by acts of parliament, and by history; and this falsehood also includes a libel on the protestant government of this country fince the revolution, as groundless and malicious as ever yet was published. The petition states, " That the right of franchise, that is, of elective franchife, was fecured, at least to a " great part of the catholic body, by the treaty of

"Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ra-

"tified by parliament; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation;

" thus folemnly pledged, for which their ancestors " paid

" paid a valuable confideration, in the furrender of " their arms and a great part of the kingdom, " and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adhe-" rence on the part of the catholics to the terms of " the faid treaty, and their unremitting loyalty " from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken " away from the catholics of Ireland, fo late as the " first year of his majesty king George the 2d." It will not be very difficult to expose the notorious falsehoods of every part of this paragraph. The whole body of Irish catholics, after the abdication of king James the 2d, in England, took up arms, under the pretence of supporting his title to the crown of Ireland; but in reality for the purpole of overturning the protestant ecclesiastical establishment in this kingdom, and fubflituting popery in its stead; and of separating this country for ever from England; as all perfons who have read the proceedings of the pretended parliament held in Dublin, under the authority of king James in 1689, must be convinced. The protestants of this kingdom took up arms in their own defence, and were supported by a formidable army, fent from England by king William, to their affiftance; after two years of a bloody and destructive civil war, the catholic forces, every where routed and defeated, were driven into the city of Limerick, in which, in the autumn of the year 1691, they were closely befieged by the generals of king William, and the protestant army under their command. Pent up in this city, the catholic army was reduced to enter into articles of capitulation with the general of king William, the Baron de Ginckle, on the third day of October, 1691, which capitulation is filed the military articles of Limerick; these military articles relate folely to the catholic regular army and rapparees, a kind of irregular catholic banditti, then in arms in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Clare, and

Kerry, and to the garrison of the town of Sligo, which had furrendered on the 19th of September preceding. The chief conditions, stipulated by these military articles, relate to the fase transportation into France of such officers and soldiers of that army, as should choose to embark for that country. Of the whole catholic army only three principal officers, to wit. Brigadier Clissord, (an Englishman) Col. Henry Luttrell, and Col. Purcell, chose to stay at home, together with some officers of inferior rank, and private soldiers; the rest, to the amount of twenty thousand men, chose to embark for France, and were transported thither accordingly. See Harris's life of

king William, pages 351, and 352.

Exclusive of this military capitulation, there was another capitulation figured by the lords juffices and general Ginckle on the one part, and by the catholic gentlemen of landed property, amongst whom were Sir Garret Dillon, Sir Theobald Butler, and John Brown, Efq. three catholic lawyers of great eminence, on the other part. This capitulation is called the civil articles of Limerick; they are twelve in number, with a kind of poftscript, folely relating to Col. John Brown, and the first of them only relates to the Roman catholics (not catholics) of Ireland in general, and is confined entirely to certain stipulations respecting the exercise of their religion. The last of these articles is in the words following: Last-" ly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that " their majefties will ratify these articles within the " fpace of eight months or fooner, and use their ut-" most endeavours that the same shall be ratified " and confirmed in parliament." It is proper here to observe, that as the king has no power by our conflitution, to make laws by his own authority to bind his fubjects, laws respecting internal government and the regulation of his kingdom, must be enacted by parliament. The king, his deputies

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or generals, had no power to contract absolutely with the catholics of this kingdom, his own fubjects, then in actual rebellion against him, for any civil privileges or immunities whatfoever, parliament alone has the power of making fuch contracts, and it appears by this 12th article, that the able lawyers who conducted this capitulation on the part of the catholics, perfectly well understood the constitution in this point; and they must have also known, that every law made by parliament, is again revocable and repealable by parliament at any time, when either the fame parliament, or a fucceeding one, may think it fit and expedient to repeal it. The crown could not perform any part of these civil articles, nor could it contract to perform any of them, except fuch part of them as related to the release or reftoration of fuch eftates as were hable to forfeiture, or had been feized or forfeited, on account of the rebellion, which became thereby the property of the crown; and fo far, and no farther, could the crown ratify the civil articles of Limerick, or guarantee them in any manner. The catholic army, as to the rest of the civil articles, furrendered expressly on the condition that the crown should use its utmost influence to prevail on the parliament to ratify them; fuch engagement the crown fulfilled with the utmost good faith; and if the crown, after exerting its utmost influence with parliament for the purpole, was unable to prevail on the parliament to ratify these civil articles in their full extent, as was the case, the capitulation of Limerick was in no wife infringed; the crown and the rebel army in Limetick having only contracted, that as much of these articles as could be performed by the crown, and as much as should be afterwards ratified by parliament, should be carried into execution.

There is not one of these civil articles of Limerick which secures the enjoyment of the elective P 2 franchise

franchife to the catholics of Ireland, or to any part of them, or recognizes in any manner their right to such franchise, as stated in the petition, or even mentions it. The article on which fome catholic writers have attempted to ground their affertions, respecting rights pretended to be acquired by the articles of Limerick, is the decond article. It is in fubstance as follows: That all the inhabitants or " refidents of Limerick, or any other garrifon then " in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers " then in arms under any commission of king James, " or those authorized by him to grant the fame, in " the feveral counties of Limerick, Corke, Clare, " Kerry, and Mayo, or any of them, and all fuch as " are under their protection in said counties; and all commissioned officers in their majesty's quarters. " belonging to the Irish regiments in being, that were treated with, and were not prisoners of war, or had " taken protection, who should return and submit " to their majesty's obedience, their and every of their heirs, should hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, " and immunities, which they, and every, or any of " them, held, enjoyed, orwere rightfully and lawfully " intitled to, in the reign of king Charles the 2d, or at any time fince, by the laws and flatutes that " were in force in the reign of king Charles the 2d, " discharged of all arrears of quit and crown rent, in-" curred fince Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the " date of the articles; provided that no person what-" foever should have or enjoy the benefit of that ar-" ticle, who should neglect, or refuse, to take the onth of allegiance made by act of parliament in " England, in the first year of the reign of king Wil-" liam and queen Mary, when thereunto required. It is now necessary to see how much these civil articles were ratified by parliament; first observing, that all

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all the protestants of this kingdom were highly diffatisfied with the capitulation in general; as the catholic troops, who had treated them with the greatest cruelty and severity for three years preceding, were thereby not only exempted from all punishment for their rebellion, but were secured in the possession and enjoyment of all their estates, without making the smallest compensation to the protestants for all the ravages they had for three years preceding committed on their property. On inspection on the statute of the ninth of William, chapter 2d, intitled, an act for confirmation of articles made at the furrender of the city of Limerick, which act paffed in the year 1697 (for no fooner could the Irish parliament be prevailed on to ratify any part of those articles) it will be found that the Irish parliament did not ratify the first civil article respecting religion, or any part of it; and as to the second article, the parliament specially ratified it in the sense and intendment contained in the act and not otherquife. They rejected out of their ratification of it the words, " and all such as are under their protection in " the faid counties," thereby excluding all persons from the benefit of the second article, except the inhabitants of Limeirck, and the officers and foldiers of the Irish army. To the words" all rights, titles, " and interests, privileges, and immunities," the parliament added the words, to the faid Estates of freehold and inheritance belonging; and that the restoration of the persons comprised in the second article thus ratified, should only extend, or be construed to extend, to the restoring of the said persons and every of them, to their said estates of freehold and inheritance, against his majesty, his heirs, and successors, in as large and ample manner as they should have enjoyed the same, had they not been guilty of the rebellion aforefaid, and not otherwise, or in any other manner;" thereby expressly

prefsly declaring, that though these catholic estates were restored to catholics, freed from any forseiture to the crown, yet that they were to hold them fubject to fuch limitations, conditions, and reftrictions, as the parliament of Ireland should, from time to time please to annex to them. The act then proceeded to ratify others of the civil articles, but some were totally omitted. Any person who has an inclination to fee a full and able refutation of this calumny, that the capitulation of Limerick was infringed, may find it in a pamphlet written by a very learned member of this house. Dr. Arthur Brown, one of the representatives of the Univerfity in parliament, published forme years ago, and lately republished in this city. I have faid enough respecting these articles for my present purpose; now let us examine what persons could become intitled to any benefit under the fecond of the civil articles of Limerick,—certainly the foldiers and officers of the catholic army, and the inhabitants of Limenck, or any other garrifon then in possession of the Irish (which were two only, to wit, Clare Cathle and Rofs Cattle, very fmall, infignificant fortreffes, in which there could be very few inhabitants except their garrifons) and this too, on the condition of their returning and fubinitting to their majesties obechence, and taking the oath of allegiance, if required. I have shewn already that nine-tenths of the catholic army rejected this condition, went to France, and abandoned their country and estates, and the elective franchise never was guaranteed by this fecond article, to the few cathohies who flayed in their country, and performed the condition contained in the article, by the words of the article as ratified by parliament. The words of the article are, that they should be restored to their effates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, to the faid estates belonging, as they held them in the reign of Charles the Second; and the act of ratification expressly states, that this clause in the articles is to be confidered only as restoring catholies to their estates, freed from any impeachment on score of forfeiture to the crown for their rebellion; and therefore it never can be construed for as to bar the parliament from cutting off from these estates any privileges annexed to them, the exercise of which, whilst the estates remained in the lands of the catholics, would be prejudicial to the state. The words, rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, are mere words of conveyance and affurance; and frequently used in conveyances of estates, and fignify nothing more than that the grantee, has, by the conveyance, the full dominion over the estates: Besides, it cannot be argued without manifest absurdity, that any privilege annexed to these estates, very few in number, and very inconfiderable, which the handful of catholics, who qualified themselves to take the benefit of the articles, were at the time of the date of the articles intitled to, attached to the person of the catholic: he possessed any annexed privileges, only in virtue of his possession of the estate, and they expired with his title to the land; neither can catholics possibly claim any privilege, annexed by the articles of Limerick, to the few estates which the few qualified eatholics then became entitled to under these articles, as annexed to estates, which catholics have purchased fince the date of the capitulation.

I trust I have said enough fully to prove that the elective franchise was not secured to any catholics whatsoever, by the articles of capitulation of the City of Limerick, in October, 1691, and never was guaranteed by King William and Queen Mary, nor ratisfied by parliament; that the whole state of this business as set forth in the catholic petition, is a

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ftring of continued falsehood; and that a body of people, who in defiance of all public records, can carry to the foot of the throne fo notorious an untruth, and, though petitioners cannot conceal their hatred and animosity against those whom they affect to flile their protestant brethern, but stuff their petition with falle, rancorous, and malignant libels against the protestant government of this kingdom, afferting therein that the articles of Limerick were infringed, and a direct breach thereby made of the public faith of the nation, folemnly pledged to them, are fo far from meriting any favour from this house as yet, (thank God!) protestant; that this house should rather feriously consider, whether they ought not to re-enact the penal code of popery laws, or some part of it, which miftaken lenity has induced them within these few years to repeal, and whether the exigency of the times does not now demand fuch conduct from them.

I cannot forbear here observing the deception of this petition, in its introduction of the capitulation of Limerick; it dignifies it by the title of a treaty, and states that the catholics purchased the benefits of this treaty, by the valuable confideration of furrendering their arms, and a great part of the kingdom. Treaty is generally used to signify an agreement between parties on some footing of equality with each other, at least respecting the subject matter of the agreement; but the business at Limerick in 1691, was a capitulation agreed to by the English generals, from ill-judged unfeafonable mercy, and with a band of routed traitors, fairly fought down, the refuse of the sword, inclosed like rats in a trap, in a little town, in a corner of the kingdom, from whence they had no possibility of escaping, and in which they could make neither effectual nor long refiftance; the certain victims of the avenging gibbet, or the fword ;- fuch was the treaty!

As to the confideration; the catholic troops at the time of the furrender, had no fortress in the kingdom in their hands, except the castles of Ross and Clare, both of which could be reduced by two fix-pounders; and the city of Limerick, at that time battered to pieces about their ears, and some mountainous tracts of difficult access in the several counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Clare and Mayo, occupied by detached parties of catholic troops, without food, raiment or ammunition, and which might have been cleared of them in a sew weeks, by a small part of the protestant army; such was their valuable consideration, and such the considerable part of the kingdom they surrendered.

The petition next demands the elective franchife for the catholics as a right, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws; from their service in the sleets and armies; and their pay-

ment of taxes.

As to their loyalty and fubmission to the laws, I have already shewn the falsity of such a pretence; as to their service in the fleets and armies, I suppose some of the meanest and most indigent catholics at times do enlift in the armies, and enter in the fleet, from all posts of trust and emolument in which, as their petition states, they are excluded; but then the catholics, both gentlemen and yeomen, fupply, and have heretofore fupplied the French and Spanish armies with foldiers and mariners in a much greater proportion. As to the payment of taxes, the catholics of Ireland are fully recompensed for it, by being very effectually protected by just and equal laws, both in their persons and properties, without their having any reasonable demand on the state, to invest them with political power and influence, on the fcore of fuch payments.

The petition states, that the right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from

the catholics of Ireland, so late as the first year of his majesty king George the second. This truth is differenced by a suppression of part of the truth; for they should have stated, that it was not the first time, nor the second time, that the parliament of Ireland attempted, by their acts, to disable catholics from voting at elections of members of parliament; and fuch was the avowed difaffection of Irish catholics to the fuccession of the house of Brunswick to the throne, as fettled by the English act, intitled, " An " act for the further limitation of the crown, and " better fecuring the rights and liberties of the " fubject," for many years after the revolution, that the Irish parliament, in the second year of queen Anne, 1703, thought the obliging of catholics to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration prior to their being allowed to vote for members of parliament, was a fufficient bar to their voting on fuch occasions; and accordingly it was enacted by the act of 2d Ann. chap. 6th, fec. 24, as follows: " And for "preventing papilts having it in their power to breed differition amongst protestants, by voting at elections of members of parliament, be it en-" acted, that from and after the 24th day of March, " 1703, no freeholder, bargefs, freeman, or inha-" bitant of this kingdom, being a papilt, or profef-" fing the populh religion, shall at any time hereafter " be capable of giving his or their vote, for electing " of knights of any thires, or counties, within this " kingdom; or citizens or burgeffes to ferve in any " fucceeding parliament, without first repairing to " the general quarter fellions of the peace, to be holden for the counties, cities, or boroughs, where-" in fuch papirts do inhabit and dwell, and there " voluntarily taking the oath of allegiance, and also " the oath of abjuration, and obtaining a certificate "thereof from the clerk of the peace." Again, in the fecond year of George the first, chap. 19, fec. 7,

it was enacted, " That no papift thould vote at any

" election for members of parliament, without having taken the oaths of allegiance and abjura-

" tion, fix calendar months before the day of " election, and that if he did, he should forfeit one

" hundred pounds on conviction, half to the informer,

" half to the king.

As all the catholics of Ireland, who were of age able to take arms, had engaged in the rebellion, in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691, the estates of almost all the catholics of Ireland, except the few who qualified themselves to take the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick, became forfeited by that rebellion, and were granted to protestants; so that after the final reduction of the Irush rebels in 1691, the number of catholics, who enjoyed freehold or inheritable estates was very finall, and they were excluded by the laws from all corporations; hence the number of catholics qualified from their property to vote for members of parliament, was at the time of the pacification of this kingdom, after the revolution, fo very infignificant, that they could give no alarm to, nor excite the attention of the legiflature; but the case began to alter in process of time, and many catholics had obtained freeholds and estates of inheritance before the second of Anne, and became troubleforme to protestants on elections. The legislature therefore in the second of Anne, thought fit to erect the barrier against their votes, which I have already mentioned. This barrier was strengthened by the act of the fecond of George the first; but catholic ambition by degrees overpowering their religious principles, and inducing them to take almost any oaths, rather than be excluded from political power, the Irish parliament, in the first year of George the fecond, found it absolutely necessary, for the preservation of the protestant establishment in church and state, utterly to incapacitate all catholics from voting at the election of any members to ferve in parliament; which act, in that particular, has been strengthened and confirmed by every act of parliament made since, to regulate the elections of

members to ferve in parliament.

Having thus exposed to this house the notorious falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in this petition, pretending to exhibit the present state of the catholics in this kingdom; but being really a false and libellous complaint to the king against the parliament and government of this kingdom, for a century past; the principal contrivers and compilers of which, are well known in this city to be persons of the most obscure parentage and meaneft education, who have accumulated wealth, partly by the most infamous means, and partly by the indulgence of our constitution, admirably adapted to encourage the exertions, and preserve the acquisitions of industry to every subject; persons who have abandoned all pretensions to character, and whose impudence renders them proof against the affaults of fcorn and diffrace, the furies which constantly haunt the libeller and the lyar: I shall now lay before the house what the real state of the Roman catholic fubjects of this kingdom is. It is very plain from what I have already flated, that the laws, as they now stand, secure to them the fullest and most perfect enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property, both real and personal, together with the compleatest powers of acquisition; they are deprived of no advantages enjoyed by protestants, except of political power, which if we shall be so mad as to give to them, the present frame of this government must be thereby dissolved, and the state uprooted from its deepest foundation.

In respect to their exclusion from all places of trust and emolument, civil and military, and from corporations, the Irish catholics are on the same footing ers

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with differenters of all denominations in England; Roman catholics are excluded from degrees in the English as well as in the Irish universities; they are equally prohibited in England from endowing schools for the education of their youth, as in Ireland, but in both countries they may establish as many schools as they please for the education of their youth. Catholics in Ireland are prohibited from keeping arms; no fuch prohibition is in England; but every Irish catholic of any rank above the mere working artizan or pealant may obtain a licence to keep and carry arms, at the expence of one shilling, if he thinks fit to apply for it; and that the laws prohibiting the catholics from the use of arms have not been put into execution in Ireland, except in times of public commotion, is evident, as thousands of Irish catholics carried arms during the feafon of volunteering, without having procured any licence whatever. I believe catholics may vote at the election of county representatives in England, serve on grand juries, but certainly they are excluded from voting for reprefentatives for boroughs, because they are excluded from corporations. The only difference then in the fituation of catholics in England, and in Ireland, is that catholics in Ireland may be deprived of arms, unless they obtain licences for using them; that they are excluded from being members of grand juries, unless there shall be a deficiency of protestant gentlemen of rank to compose them; and in a few cases they may, on challenge, be excluded from petit juries; and that they are incapable of voting on elections of county representatives in parliament.

Whence has this difference naturally arisen? from the difference of the circumstances and situations of the two countries. The catholics in England do not amount to one, in one hundred, of the whole nation; they regard all other Englishmen as their countrymen, and do not claim all, or any of the landed

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estates of England, as their natural birthrights, except fuch as they are themselves lawfully possessed of; they have not been subdued by their protestant countrymen, after a feries of the most bloody contests, in three fuccessive desionating wars, nor do they entertain any animolity against them on the score of mutual flaughter and confiscations. In all these particulars the circumstances and situation of Ireland are directly the reverse. To take the proportion of catholics and protestants in Ireland from the petition, the Irish catholics exceed the protestants in the proportion of three to one. The Irish catholica have been subdued in three great rebellions fince the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth, by English protestant armies, and the lands and estates of the rebels divided amongst the soldiers of the conquering troops; the descendants of which soldiers, compole at this day the whole, or infinitely the greater part, of the protestants of this country. The first great division of landed property in this kingdom, was made by king James the first, who succeeded Elizabeth, amongst his English and Scottish subjects, out of the forfeitures of the rebels who adt hered to the earl of Tyrone, whose rebellion was not suppressed till the close of the reign of Eliza-The fecond great division was made amongst beth. the English foldiers who served under Cromwell, when he had compleatly subdued the Irish catholics, out of the forfeitures of the rebels, who commenced that atrocious rebellion against king Charles the first, in which they maffacred many thousands of innocent protestants, men, women, and children, in cold blood; the division then made, was in the reign of king Charles the fecond, legally confirmed by the acts of fettlement and explanation. The third great division of landed property in Ireland amongst protestants, was made in the reign of king William and queen Mary, out of the forfeitures of Irish catholics,

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on account of the rebellion which was finally quelled in 1691. There is scarce a title of a protestant nobleman or gentleman in this kingdom to his effate, which is not derived either mediately, or immediately from the grants of Elizabeth, of William and Mary, or under the acts of fettlement and explanation. The Irish catholics to a man esteem all protestants, as usurpers of their estates; they, to this day, lettle these estates on the marriages of their ions and daughters; they have accurate maps of them; they published in Dublin within thefe ten years, a map of the kingdom, cantoned out amongst the old Irish proprieters; they look for political power only to enable them to affert their claims with effect, which they will do if ever they have power, not by tedious forms of law, but acts of parliament, or the fword; they abhor all protestants, and all Englithmen, as plunderers and oppressors, exclusive of their detestation of them on a religious account; no nation on earth being more wedded to the Romith superstation than the generality of the Irish catholics; they have but one term in their language to fignify both protestant and Englishman, to wit. " Safonagh." If then the parliament of this kingdom can ever be so infatuated as to put the Irish catholic on the same footing of civil privileges with the English catholic, or on a better; and if the English nation shall ever countenance such a frenzy, the direct and immediate consequence (exclusive of the utter ruin of all the Irish protestants) must be, either that this kingdom will be for ever fevered from the British empire, or that it must be again conquered by a British army: for in truth the protestants in Ireland are but the British garrison in an enemy's country, and if entirely deferted by the parent state, must furrender at discretion, though with a very little help, they are still able to repel the common enemy.

The two privileges which the catholics chiefly complain of being deprived of, as well in the kind of writ issued by Edward Byrne (a quondam retail grocer in this city, and their chief deputy to his majesty, for summoning their convention) as in their petition, and which they in a manner demand, are, the privilege that catholics shall be summoned on grand juries equally with protestants; and that they shall obtain the elective franchise, or be rendered capable of voting at the elections of representatives in parliament. Whoever understands the important powers, respecting the due administration of justice, and the maintenance of our constitution in church and state, vested in grand juries, will be convinced that it would be very unfafe to permit fuch bodies, either in the whole or in part, to be composed of catholics: And if the elective franchife shall be granted to catholic freeholders in counties, without taking boroughs into confideration, fee from their own statement what the confequence must be,—they exceed the protestants in every county in the kingdom; for though the protestant differers are pretty numerous in four counties in the North of Ireland, yet even in these four counties the catholics exceed them in number; they compose the great mass of the tenantry throughout the kingdom. Gentlemen of landed estates, though protestants, will be so far blinded to their true interests by their ambition to have numbers of freeholders capable of voting on their estates, that they will directly change all the tenures for terms of years of their populh tenants, into tenancies for lives; as catholics are now also intitled to purchase lands in fee, they will turn all the tenures under them into tenures for lives; thus, from the superior number of catholics, there will be immediately in every county a fwarm of catholic forty thilling freeholders; and though catholic freeholders who have freeholds of twenty pounds yearly

value or above, should be the only catholic freeholders, to whom the elective franchife should be extended in this leftion; yet, if the principle of the exchifion of catholics from voting, shall at once be invaded. we thall find they will foon claim and obtain the elective franchife, for their forty thilling freeholders, and to be put on an equal footing in that reflect with protestants. Once make a breach in the rampart, and retrenchments will be found infufficient defences: Such of them as hold their tenures under protestant landlords, will revolt from them, and abandon their interest on the first election, if they shall be informed by their priefts, that their landlords interest militates against the political interest of their sect; within a very few years, by their numbers, they will out-vote the protestant freeholders in every county in the kingdom, except two or three, where the protestant interest may perhaps prevail for a few years longer, and they will certainly return such representatives to parliament, as they shall think most favorable to the catholic interest: There is another circumstance too, which renders the extension of the elective franchise to catholic freeholders still more dangerous, and that is the scheme of reform, which is how obtruded on this nation with more than common industry, by the ministers and servants of the rump of a dispraced and reprobated English faction; whose endeavours in Great Britain, to plunge their country into the rebellion and anarchy of the French affaffins, have been lately defeated by the activity of the British miniftry, and good fehle of the nation. Two plans of reform of the representation of the people in parliament, are fuggested; the one is, the disfranchisement at once of all the boroughs, the diffoliation of corporations, and the increase of the numbers of representatives for counties, and a few large cities, and towns: The other is, the disfranchisement of all decayed boroughs; that is, those boroughs, in which few or no

no inhabitants are left; and the opening of all other boroughs, by giving all the freeholders, who live within a certain diffance of them, a right to vote at the elections of representatives of these boroughs. It is evident that in either case, the extension of the elective franchise to catholic freeholders, will enable them to return representatives in parliament, for all or most of the boroughs in the kingdom; when no members of the house of commons in Ireland shall be returned, but fuch as are devoted to the catholic interest, it is easy to foresee that all laws excluding catholics from fitting in parliament will be repealed, and that we shall have a catholic house of commons; the grant of the elective franchife to catholic freeholders, will make it the direct interest of the whole catholic body to push on, either the one or the other mode of reform, with all their power; the destruction of the protestant constitution in church and state, will be the certain and successful effort of a catholic house of commons; and when the government of this country becomes catholic, the people of Ireland will be immediately taught, that it is at least as great an absurdity in politics (if not a greater) to have a protestant king over a popish nation, as it was thought by the people of England in the reign of king James II. to have a popish king over a protestant nation; and as the house of Stuart may now be said to be extinct, the catholics will attempt to form a republic in Ireland, independent of Great Britain, to which their connection with the levelling republican mobs of Belfast and Derry, and with the levelling faction of Great Britain, and their plans of resumption of the estates now in the hands of protestants, will also very strongly incline them: and as this nation is not able of itself to cope with Great Britain, the Irish catholics will again invoke the affiftance of France, which, though now a diffracted nation, is yet a great

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and powerful one; and thus will Ireland, as during the revolution war, became a field of battle for Great Britain and France; and be again desolated: Let the iffue of fuch a contest be what it may, I am justified in declaring, that if the British ministers (as has been pretty roundly afferted in this house) favour the present claims and designs of the Irish catholics, they are either ignorant of the prefent state of this country; and too short fighted and ill informed to discern the true interest of Great Britain; or base enough (which I fincerely hope is not the case) to betray it; and this I will venture to affirm, that if Great Britain shall fuffer this country to be for ever torn from the British empire, and to become dependant upon, or annexed to France, as one of its departments, the will not long support her own confequence in Europe, or even independence; the French, with the port of Brest at one side of the channel, and the noble ports of Cork, Kinfale, and the Shannon's Mouth at the other, with Irish provifions to victual, and Irish mariners to man, their fleets; will foon become an overmatch at fea for great Britain; and may then waft over her almost innumerable armies, to make a total conquest of the British islands. I will also tell British ministers another truth, that they are greatly deceived, if they have been induced to believe, that an Irish catholic is, ever-was, or ever will be, a faithful, loyal subject of a British protestant king, or a protestant government*.

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^{*} It is proper here to infert a translation of an extract from the oath taken by all Roman catholic bishops at their consecration:

[&]quot; I will assist and aid the Popes of Rome to retain and defend the Roman papacy, and the royalties of Saint Peter,

I will now trespass a little longer on the house, to examine whether the present conduct of the Roman catholics intitles them to any favour from this house. Edward Byrne, a man not long since a retail grocer in this city, thinks fit to fend circular letters to all the Romish Priests in this kingdom, stating, that the Irish catholics, laboured under great grievances, in being excluded from the benefit of trials by juries (a bale untruth) and from the elective franchife; and directing them to give notice in their respective chapels, of elections to be held therein, of delegates from every Romish congregation, to meet in some certain place in each county, for the purpole of electing a delegate or delegates to repair to Dublin, and there affociate themselves with a number of persons, stiling themselves a catholic committee; and form a convention; to confider of a proper method to free the whole body of Irish catholics, from these pretended grievances. The mandates of this catholic quondam grocer are executed by all the Romish priests throughout the kingdom, with great punctuality; and delegates to attend and form the convention, are regularly elected; the same mode of election being precifely purfued, with that adopted for the election of the convention of French affaffins. A convention of Irish catholics, thus elected, meet publicly in Dublin, they confult and deliberate together many days in a private manner, excluding all people from their debates, their meeting being public, but their confultations private; and in the end they compose, and produce, a most malevolent, ran-

Peter, against all mankind, saving the rights of my own order.

[&]quot;I will take care to preferve, defend, increase, and promote, the rights, honours, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, of our lord the Pope, and his successors."

corous, and false libel against the protestant government of Ireland, which libel they address and fend to his majesty, under the form of a petition, by certain persons specially deputed for that purpose, at the head of which deputation is the grocer, who iffued the writs for the election of the affembly, and they afterwards disperse this libel, printed and published by their avowed authority, throughout the nation, for the purpose of inflaming catholics of all ranks to fedition and rebellion against the government: I hefitate not, as a lawyer, to declare fuch proceedings unconflitutional and illegal, and fuch convention an unconstitutional and illegal affem-bly; and that the members of it are liable to indictments and informations for fuch conduct, and to heavy punishments when convicted. The catholics of the lower ranks, are at this moment affembled in large bodies, with arms in their hands, breaking into, robbing and burning, the houses of the peaceable protestant inhabitants of the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, and Meath, and even in the county of Dublin; making public declarations, that they will not fuffer any protestant to re-fide within these counties, or in the kingdom; and the contagion is spreading through the nation: So that if the army, confifting of English protestants, had not given some check to their fury, we may reasonably suppose we should, by this time, see the habitations of all protestants in the kingdom in flames, and their persons butchered, as in the year 1641, this infurrection of the catholics being fo fudden and unexpected: And every man of lense knows, that the infurrections of the vulgar, if continued for a length of time, are always privately encouraged and supported by persons of better rank, who conceal themselves, till the success of their inferior ruffians induces them openly to avow their michievous defigns; fuch are the prefent merits.

rits of the catholic body: Do they intitle them to an extension and addition of privileges? Is this a time for delivering the whole political power of the state into their hands? Common sense revolts at the frantic proposition, felf-preservation, and the experience of ages, loudly call on all protestants to condemn it with every mark of reprobation. I cannot close, without making fome animadversions on what fell from a few, thank Heaven! a very few members of this house, relative to the present question, on the night the address to his majesty, in confequence of the speech of the lord lieutenant, was agreed to by this house: On the discovery, and consequent publication of the writs of Edward Byrne, for fummioning a catholic convention to meet in Dublin, (for they were accidently discovered) the protestants of this country very properly took the alarm; the protestant gentry of several counties. as well as the inhabitants and members of feveral cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, throughout the nation, affembled and entered into resolutions, expressive of their indignation against the design of Edward Byrne, contained in his writs, as nothing less than a scheme of a conspiracy, to raise and excite a popish rebellion in this country, which in truth it The grand juries of almost all the counties in the kingdom, affembled at the fummer affizes in the year 1792, and confifting of the principal protestant gentlemen of these counties, expressed by their refolutions, the fame refentment against, and the fame opinions of, the writs of Edward Byrne; and their determination to support with their lives and fortunes the protestant ascendancy in Ireland. The corporation of the city of Dublin, the most ancient, respectable, and numerous corporate body in this kingdom, met in a post affembly in September 1792, and without a differtient voice, drew up a letter to be fent to all corporations, magistrates,

and members of both houses of parliament in Ireland: This letter in a very clear, concise, and nervous flile, expressed the decided disapprobation of this the first corporation in the kingdom, of the writs of Edward Byrne, and of the claims of Irish catholics to any other privileges or advantages, than those which they then enjoyed. It stated, that the Irish catholics ought to be contented with what they then enjoyed; that is, " the most perfect to-" leration of their religion, the fullest security of " their property, and the most compleat personal " liberty; and that they ought not now, or here-" after, to attempt any interference in the govern-" ment of the kingdom, as fuch interference would " be incompatible with the protestant ascendancy, which the members of the corporation declared " themselves resolved, with their lives and fortunes " to maintain." And then the letter defined the precise meaning of the words, protestant ascendancy in the following terms:

A PROTESTANT KING OF IRELAND,
PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT,
A PROTESTANT HIERARCHY,
PROTESTANT ELECTORS and GOVERNMENT,
The BENCHES OF JUSTICE,
The ARMY and the REVENUE,
Through alb their Branches and Details,
PROTESTANT;
AND THIS SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY A CONNECTION WITH
THE PROTESTANT REALM OF GREAT BRITAIN.

In this definition of the meaning of the words protestant ascendancy, the corporation of Dublin adhered scrupulously to the laws of the land; these laws confine the enjoyment of all, the enumerated offices to protestants only. On the night the address to his majesty was agreed to, the tew gentlemen I have already spoken of, without any apparent in-

citement, and without any reference to the subject. then rather discoursed of, than debated; but merely, as I conjecture, to shew their intention, to support any innovation which might be attempted in the constitution in the course of this session; and their contempt of the opinions of the great bulk of the protestant gentry in this kingdom, broke out into the most extravagant invectives against the grand juries of the kingdom, and their resolutions; that is, against the first protestant gentlemen in rank, character, and property in this nation, and many of them members of this house; and their opinions; and against the corporation of the city of Dublin; the conduct of which, in publishing the letter I have mentioned, was not only reprobated in the severest terms, but mockery and dension were added to abuse; not with much success indeed, for the principal mocker on that occasion, like General Paoli (as is recorded by his illustrious biographer, Mr. Boswell) never laughs; indeed he cannot, the muscles of his countenance cannot be relaxed to a laugh, they have been moulded to express the serious operations of his mind, which never deviate into the puerilities of mirth and humour. It was also afferted publicly in this house, that the grand jurors of the leveral counties in this kingdom, at the last summer affizes, were packed by the feveral sheriffs, by the procurement of government; and that juries fo packed, were folicited on the part of government, to enter into refolutions unfavourable to the present pretentions of catholics. Whatever information the gentlemen who made these affertions in this house, have had, to ground fuch an accusation on, I am certain it was false information. First, as to packing grand juries, it must be falfe, because the gentlemen who composed the grand juries in the feveral counties, were the protestant gentry of the first rank, as to character, and property,

property, in their respective counties; adly, as to influence of government being used to procure them to enter into resolutions expressive of their disapprobation of the catholic claims, I have it in my power to deny the truth of it, because I know two particular counties in which the influence of men high in station, and firmly connected with the prefent administration, was exerted to prevent, as much as possible, the grand juries of these two counties, from entering into any resolutions expressing their opinions of the claims of catholics. The letter published by the corporation of the city of Dublin, as little merited the reflections thrown upon it by these gentlemen, as the resolutions of the grand juries. It is a letter, which the patriotism, and good sense it exhibits, together with the clear nervous stile in which it is written, exclusive of the respect due to the composers, the first, most ancient, most numerous, most wealthy, and unquestionably loyal, corporation in this kingdom, ought to have protected, at least from the attacks of contempt and derifion.

I felt no inclination to laugh at that powerful witticism played off against the letter, by the question, "It is necessary for the support of the protestant "interest that an exciseman should be a protestant?" I envy not such wit, nor can I laugh at it; though, thank God, I can laugh upon occasion. I consess indeed, I was vexed to the heart to hear the minister in this house, by way of clearing himself from the accusation, of having exerted influence with the corporation of Dublin, to induce them to publish this letter, declare his disapprobation of the letter, as I then thought, and still think, that every person, who has the true interest of his majesty and of this kingdom at heart, and thoroughly understands it, ought not only to have approved of the sentiments

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ments contained in it, but to have gloried in them; and I felt at once the fensations of the most poignant pain, and glowing indignation, to see the corporation of the city of Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, and the second city in his majesty's dominions, publicly sacrificed at the altar of popery; and the protestant ascendancy dragged forth, like Sampson,

to make sport for the Philistines.

As the gentlemen I have alluded to, have held it heretofore as a maxim, that representatives were bound to purfue the instructions of their constituents, the contemptuous and fevere treatment the letter of the city of Dublin had met with, from one of its representatives in parliament, suggested to these gentlemen the necessity of some expedient, to veil as much as possible this notorious inconsistency of political conduct; and what was the expedient; reforted to? Sometime ago a fociety had been formed in this city, which stiled itself, the whigs of the capital; it was not composed of the most refpectable citizens; the conduct of this fociety, and the defign of its institution, may be collected from the following anecdote. The whigs of the capital raifed a fubicription, and printed at their own expence, twenty thouland copies of Mr. Thomas Paine's works, which they distributed through the nation partly gratis, and partly at the low price of one penny; this they stiled "differinating po-" litical knowledge." The good fense of the nation foon discovered itself, by very general expresfions of disapprobation of the conduct of the whigs of the capital, and finding the tide running pretty strongly against them, they changed their course, abandoned the title of whigs of the capital, and having procured some gentlemen of more consideration than themselves to join them, they formed a new club, under the title of " the fociety of unit-" ed

" ed Irishmen." The leaven however of the whigs of the capital, remained incorporated with this fociety, and feveral feditious publications having appeared, as their literary productions, his majesty's Attorney General thought fit to file informations against feveral publishers of these productions; and this new fociety became as unpopular, and as much reprobated, as the whigs of the capital. One of the sheriffs of the city, however, was prevailed upon to affemble this fociety into a coffeehouse in this city, and to give them a new name; by stiling them an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin; the whole faction affembled on this occasion, and amounted to about one hundred persons, several of them of very mean condition, and more than one half of them Roman catholics. A ftring of resolutions was then presented to this affembly, which they readily agreed to; fome of which resolutions relating to Roman catholics, are directly contrary to the fentiments contained in the letter published by the city of Dublin. Such aggregate meeting has been publicly declared in parliament, to be the city of Dublin; and their resolutions, the resolutions of the city of Dubin; but fuch political legerdemain is too clumfily performed to impose, even on the most inattentive observer. The changes in the fociety I have mentioned, put me in mind of the transformations frequent in the infect tribe; first an aurelia, then a grub, and then a butterfly.

I cannot forbear to make a few more observations on the parliamentary conduct of the gentlemen I have been speaking of, on this occasion; they tell us (on what authority I know not) that the English minister has declared his fovereign will and pleasure, that the Irish parliament should grant every privilege to the catholics of this kingdom, they shall please to demand, and that therefore we must comply: And they declare themselves ready to fecond fuch views of the English minister: What confiftency of parliamentary conduct do these gentlemen display! They have been declaiming for a feries of years, against the influence of the English ministry in this house, and now they openly tell us, that we must obey the dictates of the English minister; and that they are ready to obey them themfelves, even to the ruin of the nation, they tell us, with the utmost exultation and triumph, that the English minister has abandoned the support of the protestant interest in Ireland, and is determined to exalt popery on its ruins; if the case be so, which I confess I do not believe, we have procured the enmity of the English ministry, by the machinations of these gentlemen themselves, and the system of politics which their fatal oratory has perfuaded this nation to adopt, for a feries of years last past; from about the middle of the reign of king Henry the 8th to the reign of queen Anne, there is a number of acts of the Irish parliament, all yet unrepealed, which declare that the kingdom of Ireland is inseparably annexed, united, and belonging to, and dependant upon, the imperial crown of England; and yet these gentlemen, have been contriving ways and means for these several years last past, to weaken and destroy the sovereignty of the crown of England over this country; they have turned haberdashers of all the Anti-English measures which have been purfued in this kingdom at any time fince the beginning of the reign of king Charles the first, and dealt out to us by retail, all the motions tending to feparate and divide this kingdom for ever from the British empire, heretofore made by Lord Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and their adherents, (the authors and contrivers of the rebellion and maffacre of the protestants

protestants of this country in the year 1641,) in the Irish houses of lords and commons. They actually induced this parliament to enact into laws, some of the acts of the populh convention, affembled in this city by king James the fecond, after his abdication, and filed by him a parliament; and they have proposed others of them to this house, as proper to be enacted; which, if enacted, would root all the protestant clergy out of this kingdom; in these last, they have as yet miscarried, and constantly complain of the miscarriage in their list of grievances, recited with great folemnity and exactness, at the beginning of every fession. If then, these gentlemen are patriots, fo were Lord Macguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neil, and so were the members of the popish convention, affembled by King James, all whose acts were annulled, and their proceedings ordered to be burned, by the Irish act of the 7th of William, chap. the 3d, part of which I shall recite to you, to shew what the opinion of your forefathers was, of this convention and their acts. " It states, "that no parliament can be holden in this king-"dom, but by and under the authority of the king " of England; because the kingdom of Ireland is in-" feparably annexed, united, and belonging, to the " imperial crown of England; from whence it fol-" lows, that whoever is king of England, is, ipfo facto " king of Ireland; it states, that several persons " had affembled in Dublin, by the authority of the " late king James the fecond, and that they pre-" tended to be, and called themselves by the name of " a parliament; and passed several pretended acts " and statutes, all which pretended acts were formed " and defigned, in manifest opposition to the so-" vereignty of the crown of England, and for the " utter destruction of the protestant interest in this " kingdom;

" kingdom; and it enacts, that this convention was " an unlawful and rebellious affembly, and that all its " acts and proceedings should be void, erased out of " the journals, and burned." Let me just stop here to contemplate the different fates of patriots in different ages: The Irish patriots, Lord Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and their adherents, perished on the gibbet; the members of the convention in 1689, perished by the fword, or were punished by confiscation and exile; but the Irish patriots of the present day, who have adopted their politics, and retailed their fpeeches and motions, are loaded with riches, and decorated with honours. Upon the whole then; it is very apparent, that if the English ministry have abandoned the protestant interest in Ireland, as these gentlemen affert, they have been induced to do fo, by the ungrateful and undutiful conduct, which the very gentlemen, who now glory in the depreffion of the Irish protestant interest, have led the protestants of Ireland to adopt, in respect to Great Britain; and that they themselves have reduced the Irish protestants to the situation of the sheep in the fable, whom the wolves, by false professions prevailed on to discharge their dogs and their shepherds, and then worried and devoured.

The speech from the throne does not however warrant the affertions of these gentlemen, that the ministry of England have abandoned the protestant interest in Ireland; and that it is the intention of the English minister that we shall grant the Irish catholics all privileges they may think sit to demand. It desires us only "seriously to consider the situation "of the Irish catholics, and consider it with libera-"lity for the purposes of strengthening and cementing "a general union of sentiment among all classes of "and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in support

" of the established constitution," and the Lord Lieu-" tenant in the speech declares, that he will strenuoufly exert the power with which he is entrusted, " for the maintenance of the constitution in church and " state, as the best security for the liberty of the sub-" ject, and the prosperity of Ireland." And I have, according to the recommendation in the speech, seriously considered the real state of the catholics of Ireland, which I find to be a state of perfect security both of their liberty and property; and not that state untruly depicted, in that falle and acrimonious libel, their petition to his majesty. The opinion I have formed on the whole matter is, that it is utterly inconfistent with the fafety and preservation of the present Irish constitution in church and state, and utterly incompatible with the true interest of the whole British empire to invest the catholics with any other privileges than they now are by law entitled to, and I will therefore oppose this bill, in every stage of it; convicted as I am in my confcience, that by acting thus, I do my duty to my God, my king, and my country. I utterly from my heart disclaim the operation on my mind, of any partial or interested views, in thus forming and delivering my fentiments on this occasion. I oppose the prefent pretentions of the catholics of Ireland, confidering them in the light of a great political body, which it is not only dangerous, but deftructive to the constitution, further to encourage, or to strengthen by the accumulation of new privileges, In thus publicly declaring my fentiments, I even do some violence to my private feelings and connections, as I live in the strictest intimacy and friendship with several Roman catholics, for whom I have the fincerest regard and esteem, knowing them to be persons of the greatest worth, integrity and honour.

Hon.

Hon. D. Brown.—Sir, I will not go at large into the question. This is not the time for it; but I cannot avoid making some reply to the learned gentleman, from whom, certainly, I expected moretemperance, and less prejudice.

The articles of Limerick, to which the learned gentleman has alluded, has been drawn by an anceftor of his; those articles I lately read, and do affirm, that as far as a treaty could be binding, they did secure to the Catholics of certain counties the liberty and security they enjoyed previous to that period. The learned gentleman has charged three millions of his majesty's subjects with disloyalty, and the instances he has added to prove his charge are of a singular nature.

I do affert, Sir, that the articles of Limerick were infringed by acts of parliameut; that notwithstanding that infringement, for a period of one hundred years, during which time Great Britain was involved in feveral wars and rebellions, yet not a fingle act of opposition to the English government can be charged in that time to the Roman Catholics. I will not, Sir, fay, that the learned gentleman has mistated, but he certainly has been materially misinformed.-The Irish brigades confifted originally of persons who were driven from this country for their attachment to the house of Stuart, but that they have been recruited from Ireland is not the fact :- they confift of the defcendants of those original fettlers; of foreigners, and natives of France; this is the fact the learned gentleman gives to prove, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are waging war in foreign countries against England.

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The learned gentleman sh ould, in extenuation of his charges against the Catholic body, have stated what he knew of their merits. He is here as a senator, an advocate for the people, not against them;—as he did go to France to find out instances of Catholic disloyalty, which I own I think was travelling far for charges against the Catholics of Ireland, he should have told you, that when the Irish Catholics in the French colleges were applied to on behalf of the French nation, that had given them what the impolitic laws of their own country had refused—education and profession—to affist and direct in an invasion of Ireland, that to a man they resused.

That the Irish Catholics resident in Spain, with which country England was also at war, from their attachment to English interest, were driven from the sea ports of Spain, where they principally inhabited, and were cosined as prisoners in the internal parts of that country, victims at once of the impolicy of their own country, and the jealousy of its enemies.

The defence of the Catholics of Ireland could be rested on the charge of the learned gentlman; his accusations does not not go to them, they are applied to the descendants of those who were one hundred years agoe inhabitants of Ireland. Sir, I feel the disticulty of contending in any discussion with the learned gentleman, much more in matter of law; but I have lately read with particular attention the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, and if the statutes do not state what they do not mean, the chattle property of the Catholics is subject, as real estate heretofore, to a conforming son of a Roman Catholic; but I am convinced that it it so from an omission, and not from the intention of the law.

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With respect to the laws that are stated to give advantages, in point of trade, to protestants over Roman Catholics;—I do not exactly remember how far they give that advantage; but the title of the law complained of is some proof that they do give those advantages, it is entitled; "An act for the encouragement of protestant strangers in corporate towns." But I have a particular recollection of the laws that deprive Roman Catholics of the elective franchise; a short statement of them will be the best resutation of the learned gentleman's affertion, that they were enacted on state necessities, and the divisions and disturbances occasioned by Roman Catholics and Protestants.

In the 8th of Anne a law passed, obliging the Catholic to take the oath of abjuration, of the right of the house of Stuart to the crown, to entitle him to vote at an election. This act arose from the jealousy of the times, on the point of the succession to the crown; and while those were yet alive who had sworn allegiance to the family of Stuart, while James the second lived, who had been acknowledged sovereign of these realms, the act operated, and prevented every principled Catholic from voting; but in the lapse of twenty years, which included the reign of Anne and George, the principle died with the persons who held it, and with the sovereign they had sworn to.

The descendants of those Catholics sound, in the auspicious reign of the house of Brunswick, that happiness and security for which governments are sounded, and unclogged by the prejudices of their ancestors, were ready to swear allegiance to the house of Brunswick, and enjoy the constitution

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stitution under its beneficial dominion. But the differning eye of intolerance faw through this new principle of the people; it faw that the political pretence for this deprivation was at an end, and at once laying afide the mask of political necessity, by the act of the 1st of George the 2nd, stepped between the people and the barrier of their allegiance, and made the facrifice of their religious faith the purchase of the right of voting. I congratulate the house on the sacrifice of prejudice to the true interests of Ireland they are about to make. The prophecies of the learned gentleman, of the effects of the facrifice, will be verified in the fame manner as the prophecy of 1788, on allowing Catholics to take leafes and buy lands. As the friend of the Catholics, I feared much for them from the threats, on a former night, of the learned gentleman -I am perfectly released from my fear, and prophely, in my turn, from our proceedings, the peace, the prosperity, and union of Ireland.

Sir H. Cavendish.—If there is not a second man in the house who thinks that the Roman Catholics ought to receive no farther indulgence, and who wishes to oppose the introduction of the bill, there is no manner of occasion to debate it in this stage,

Right hon. G. Ogle.—Sir, I am that man who will oppose it in this stage, and in every other stage.—Sir, after the very able, the learned, the argumentative, the honest and spirited speech of my honourable and learned friend, (Dr. Duigenan,) for which he has my public thanks, and for which he deserves the thanks of every Protestant in Ireland, it would be vanity in me to attempt placing

the question in any new point of view; he has indeed left me a beaten field; nothing has escaped his zeal, his vigilance and refearch. And therefore I again thank him for the able and manly support he has given to the deserted cause of the Protestants of Irelaud-a cause which I never will defert-a cause which in my earliest life I learned to revere, and which I will maintain (careless and fearless of what the consequences public or private may be to me) to the last hour of my existence. Sir, in the last fession I did declare, that I thought it impossible to make any further concession to the Roman Catholics, without injuring the Protestant ascendancy -a word that I am proud to ufe-to use in the same sense this honourable and respectable city has done, and for which they have been fo indecently calumniated. Thefe were the fentiments I then declared—they were the fentiments which the experience and reflection of many years had confirmed in my mind. My right hon friend (Mr. Hobart,) has faid they are not to receive their wishes in full.-Good God! what must their wishes have been if they are not to be fatisfied with what the right hon, gentleman, has proposed? They are to receive the elective franchife unlimited. This is to be done, because, as he fays, there would remain a fore place if any restraint or limitation should remain. I tell the right hon gentleman, there will indeed remain a fore place-but it will be in the Protestant mind.

They are to be made grand jurors; they are to have all civil employments—Sheriffs I suppose are civil officers, they are to be justices of the peace; they are to vote at elections; and if England permits; they are to have the army and navy open

The throne, the parliament, and the judgment feat; and what must their petition be, when all these concessions do not come up to its demand? Last year you granted much, this year you are desired to grant more; and does he suppose this will tranquillize the country? No; for you are told by the right hon gentleman, that what you do grant will not satisfy them; their desires are insatiable; as if their appetite grew on what it fed upon.

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- Sir, let the real or affected liberality of gentlemen disguise the matter as they please; let them turn it and twift it into what forms or what shapes their ingenuity can invent, Proteous will return to his own proper form at last-It is a queftion of power-they know it is - and will you grant away your dearest rights, or will you maintain them?-For my part, I will never grant them away. Are you aware of what this will lead to? I will tell you what it will lead to, either an union with, or a total separation from, England; for is any man fo unacquainted with the spirit of popish intolerance—is any man so little informed of the history of this country as not to know, that when they attain to power, they will use it to the oppression of the Protestant, who must then fly to the fuccour of England ?-Sir, hitherto I always thought that no possible case could occur that would make me confent to a union; I would rather lay down my head upon that table, to be fevered from my body, than give fuch a confent. Alas! Sir, I did not then think I should live to fee the Protestant cause deserted; but I declare before Almighty God, I would rather pass an act of union than this bill-I fpeak my feelings openly, fearless

fearless of the consequence; why should I disguise them? If I did, the Protestants would despise me the Presbyterians would despise me—nay, even the Papists themselves—nay, worse, I should despise myself.

A gentleman has faid we were not ripe for this bufiness last year, but we are ripe now. Where did he find this ripeness? Was it in the resolutions of the corporations? in the resolutions of the grand juries? No; 'twas in the mandate of the British Let that minister make his experiments at home, where he may be supposed to know fomething of the country; let him try will an English parliament abolish the test act; he knows they will not. Why then should he presume to direct the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland to abandon their fituation in the state! But this is to tranquillize! How is it to tranquillize? Have Protestants no feelings? Have they no fouls? Why fhould they be discarded from their fituation? Are they clamorous? Are they levellers? Are they difloyal? Have they any crimes to explate? Any faults to varnish? No. What has been their conduct? Steady, undeviating loyalty; obedience and affection to their fovereign and to the laws; constant readiness to expose their lives and fortunes in his defence; unshaken attachment to the British nation; affectionate partiality to British manners. And what is the reward of all this? They are called upon to furrender their all, because it is the will of the British minister. For one I do refift this order: God forbid that any earthly inducements, any private motive, or personal apprehension, should influence me to prostrate myfelf before the rifing splendour of his Catholic Orb. Mr.

Mr. Blake, [county of Galway.]—When I differ in opinion from the right hon. gentleman [Mr. Ogle] who spoke last, I do it with the utmost distidence, conscious of his superiority in abilities, information, and experience, nor do I even form a hope that any thing that can fall from me, will convey conviction to his mind—I merely deliver it as a declaration of my sentiments.

So far from coinciding in opinion with the right hon, gentleman, that the emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland would tend to the subvertion of our constitution, in my mind it is a measure absolutely necessary to its preservation, besieged as it is by foreign and domestic enemies.

It is natural to mankind to be less folicitous for the welfare of our neighbour's property than our own. Our Roman Catholic brethren fee us in possession of a glorious and enviable Constitution; they have and would continue to leave us in the uninterrupted enjoyment of it; but were it affailed, as it is at prefent, by wicked and deal figning men, men whose political creed is such, that no modification we can devise of our present conflitution can fatisfy, as long as we are bleffed with a Monarch on the throne; I fay, that in fuch a fituation, we have no claim upon our Roman Catholic brethren for affistance: were we to call upon them, they could reply to us with juftice, " make us participators of the benefits of your constitution, and we shall with alacrity share in the dangers of its protection; but you cannot, expect us to come forward in support of any constitution

flitution, as long as our oppression continues one of its principles." This, I say, might have been their language while in a state of bondage; but, now I trust we shall bind them in interest to maintain that constitution, and in gratitude to support that legislature, whose wisdom and liberality will induce them to receive them to a participation of its blessings.

Now that we have our Roman Catholic brethren in contemplation, (and that at the inftance of our beloved Sovereign,) let us, in the name of God, do things handfomely—and not retail them out ounce by ounce, fession after session—let us, by one decisive blow, obliterate all distinction, and by that act of union close the desirative terms of Protestant and Roman Catholic in general and conciliating appellations of Christian and Irishman.

Impressed with these ideas, and conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I shall through each stage of this business be the sanguine, though feeble advocate of this numerous, oppressed, and loyal body of people.

Mr. Bagwell—Sir, I have not given any opinion, as yet, respecting that part of the propositions of the Right Hon. Gent. [Mr. Hobart] which goes to the Elective Franchise, nor shall I do so, until the bill be brought in; but in every other respect, I am decided as to the propriety of repealing all penal statutes which militate against the Catholics and not equally so against the protestants—All distinctions of that nature should be done away, and also all advantages not trenching on the constitution,

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Sir, by the 14th and 15th Charles II. all proteftants, strangers and others, residing, or coming to reside in cities, and towns corporate, are entitled to their freedom of trade, on payment of 20s. to the chief magistrate. The benefit of this act I strongly recommend to the right hon. gentleman to extend by his bill to the Roman Catholics, as well as to the Protestants, and thus give a solid, substantial advantage to them, by relieving them from the heavy and oppressive demand of tolls which on most occasions operate in opposition to the interests of the industrious citizen.

Sir Edward Croften.—Sir, I cannot agree in total with the right hon, gentleman who has made the motion. Certainly I am for removing some of the restraints under which the Roman Catholics lie, and would go as far as any man in the country to render their situation not only comfortable, but even enviable; but I consider the present time as rather premature, and I am for postponing the further consideration of this business till the 4th of next month.

The Speaker informed him, that the motion before the house was only for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland.

Mr. Stanly.—However unwilling I may be to trefpass on the house at this late hour, yet, Sir, I think this is a question of such magnitude, and in which the interests of Ireland are so deeply in-U volved, that every man, let him fill ever so small a space in the political world, is bound to speak his sentiments, and to contribute, as far as he can, his mite to the public happiness;—I cannot therefore, pevail upon myself to repress these sentiments of pleasure and satisfaction which I seel, to observe that the period is at length arrived, when we are about to conquer old and deep rooted prejudices, and that a spirit of benevolence and toleration has succeeded to persecution and bigotry.

I rejoice that we are now about to do an act which will pour fome new and falutary blood into the veins of the constitution, and to restore the most loyal, the most peaceable, and the most oppresed fubjects in this land to those civil rights, and to that share in the democratical part of the constitution, of which they had been fo long and fo unjuftly deprived. I think, Sir, the measure proposed by the right hon. Secretary, is fraught with liberality, justice, and true constitutional policy, and at the fame time that I think the Catholics will thereby be put into possession of true political liberty, it guards with a jealous eye, and with a cautious circumspection, those ramparts which were erected at the revolution, for the fecurity of a Protestant throne and a Protestant establishment.

I have always thought, Sir, that the entire of the penal code enacted against Catholics in this country were highly impolitic, unjust, and Illiberal. I have always thought that they were a stain and disgrace to our laws, and I wished to see them obliterated from our statute books. They were not only repugnant to the constitution of a free country, but they drew a just reproach and contempt on the national character.

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But of all the other laws which oppressed this unfortunate people; that act of ift Geo. 2 which deprived them of their franchise, that grand criterion which diftinguishes a freeman from a flave, the right of voting for reprefentatives who are to make laws to bind their lives, liberty, and property, which my lord Holt called the nobleft birth right and most invaluable privilege of the subject-I say that law, of all others, appears to me to have been the most unaccountable, the most cruel, and the most unnecessary. In the infancy of the revolution it might perhaps, have been prudent to guard the new establishments, by the excluding laws made in the reign of Will. 2. and by the oaths imposed for the security of government.

But how it should have become necessary, or how it can be justified, that forty years after the revolution, in the year 1727; when the crown of thefe kingdoms was firmly fixed on the head of the Hanover family, when the Protestant establishments were guarded and fecured, when the Catholics had given forty years test of their obedience and submission to the new constitution; -after a rebellion in England and Scotland, in the year 1715 when the Roman Catholics of Ireland had a fair opportunity, if they were disposed to disloyalty, to lift under the banners of the Pretender, and flock to the standard of rebellion. Ireland was the only part of the empire where disaffection or fedition did not dare to rear its head; yet after all the merits of this oppressed people, an act is made in the first of Geo. II. to deprive them of the right of voting for representatives in parliament, which they had enjoyed, uninterruptedly, from the revolution to that day.

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An hon. gentleman (Dr. Duigenan) has faid they were prohibited from voting at a much earlier period by the acts of queen Anne, which annexed oaths of allegiance and supremacy to their right of franchife. Give me leave to fay, that observation furnishes an additional argument against the policy of the act of Geo. II. for if the oaths of allegiance and fupremacy were universally taken by the Catholic voters, during the reign of queen Anne and Geo. I. to qualify them to exercife their franchife, as it was well known it was the fact, their acquiescence and taking these oaths, was the strongest test they could give of their attachment to the flate, and should have entitled them to the confidence of the nation; and therefore, it is clear they were not excluded from voting, nor was it intended they should be by those oaths, for it was well known, that the Catholics yoted in the election of that very parliament of Geo. II. which afterwards disfranchifed them.

Sir, the history of this act has been attributed to the local policy of a particular county in Ireland, the county of Galway, and to the result of a contested election for that county, between the lord Dunkellin of that day and some other person.

It was faid that the Catholics having by their intent voted lord Dunkellin out of the county of Galway, returned his opponent. Lord Dunkellin had influence enough with the minister of that day to introduce this clause, depriving the Catholics of their franchise, into the act of Geo. II.—Whether that fact is well founded or not is impossible for me, at this time, absolutely to determine; but, I confess, I have great doubts of the authenticity of that

that rumour Because, I find, upon looking into the hiftory of that day, and particularly into the lords journals, in the 10th year of queen Anne. that Michael the lord Dunkellin of that day, was, on the 4th of October, 1711, called up by writ to the house of lards; in the life of his father lohn. earl of Clanricarde and fat as a peer in the house of lords during the reigns of queen Anne and George I and until his death; and his fon. the late earl, was but two years old in the year 1727, when the act of 1st George IL passed ;- fo that it is manifest there was no lord Dunkellin of that day capable of being a candidate for the county of Galway .- This much, however, I could venture to affirm, that, if by any fuch improper exercion of influence, the Catholics were deprived of the right of franchife, it met the decided difapprobation of the prefent noble reprefentative of that illustrious family - I could venture to affert. that that noble marquis was the most warm and attached friend to the fair and reasonable claims, of the Catholic body, and I am fully fatisfied that, if the perfonal prefence of that noble lord was abfolutely necessary for their emanicipation, he would, tho' at the risk of his health and personal fafety, come over to give them his warmest sup-on Carlone emaniferencial an bo

Sir an hon gentleman, who spoke third in debate (Dr. Duigenan), has attacked the civil principles of the Catholics;—he has said, that they wished for political liberty and political power, in order that they might carry into effect the principles of Mr. Payne, and unite with the enemies of the constitution in establishing a republic, upon the French model.—Sir, I must beg leave to say, that I think

I think I know the principles and the feelings of the Roman Catholics, at least in that province, to which I am particularly attached, (Connaught) as well, if not a little better, than that hon, gentleman-I know that they are a brave, -a generous, -and a loyal people; they are attached by principle to a free and a mixed monarchy, and they detest republican and levelling doctrines and I will take upon me to fay, when they are embofomed in the body of the flate, when they are restored to those rights of citizens, of which they have been to long and to unjustly deprived. they would fined the last drop of their blood in Support of the throne, and his majefty's illustrious. house, and in support of the present constitution. They knew well that administration were always amicable to the Catholic cause, as far as the temper of parliament and the nation would admit : and I tell that gentleman and this house, that the Catholies are too wife and too loval to be made the dupes of levellers or republicans; they know well, that if the enemies of the government could make use of them as instruments to overturn the constitutions, the Catholics themselves would foon be buried in its ruins. For these reasons I shall give my most decided support to the present measure in its fullest extent. I confess I think it a liberal one, and look upon Catholic emanicipation to be the harbinger of peace, union, content, and profperity to Ireland.

Mr. Ofborne.—I most heartily concur in the motion, as far as the propositions contained in it go; but think that they do not go fat enough. It is an absurd, gradual measure, to grant the elective and with-hold the representative franchise, fince

force the electors are necessarily men of lower rank, fortune and information, than the representatives would be ... To with hold the representative franchise, is still holding out the principle of monopoly for felf—against the general good.

Mr. Maxwell reprobated adminstration for their conduct throughout the whole miliness, for not consulting the independent gentlemen of the country, but in their place governing by a cabinet of clerks.

Right hon. Mr. Guffe I finoerely recommend coolness and temperate the house, and advise the Roman Catholics to accept whatever shall be granted with gratitude, as the most likely way of reaching their ultimotum.

Lord Kingsborough.—I for one, Sir, am for permitting the bill to be brought in, but will not pledge myself to support it, as I am highly disgusted, and that with the justest reason, with the conduct of the Roman Catholics for the last two years.

Lord Hillsborough.—I, Sir, am also for admitting the bill, but will not pledge myself to its support, unless the Rt. hon gentleman who proposed it can assure me that the Roman Catholics will be smally satisfied with what is granted them.

Rt. hon. Mr. Hobart—Sir, I believe from the nature of the concessions I have proposed, that they will fatisfy every rational Catholic in the kingdom. I am sure they ought to do so, as they are all that can possibly be granted with safety to the protestant

tant establishment. I cannot say more on the subject, nor can I answer whether these concessions will completely satisfy all the Catholics. I cannot take upon me to answer for any description of mentions in the same say less than the cannot take upon me to answer for any description of mentions in the same say less than the same say that the same say that the same say that the same says the same says that the same says that the same says that the same says the same says that the same says that the same says that the same says the same says that the same says the same says the

Right hon. Mr. Coincolly — I am ready to give up all the prejudices of my youth to fecure peace to my country. I am ready to give up fortune, and even my life, for the fame lend.

Mr. A. Daly.—Sir, the measures proposed have my entire and hearty approbation as far as they go; but however, I do not think they go far enough. Much greater privileges might be granted; indeed I can see no reason why any privilege or any right of any other subject should be withheld from them. Their long loyalty and their long sufferings, justly entitle them now to every favour, and even every indulgence.

The question was then put, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, when it passed in the affirmative with two differenting voices only,

Ordered, That the right hon. Mr. Secretary: Hobart, right hon. Sir Hercules Langrish, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, and Mr. Prime Serjeant, do prepare, and bring in the faid bill.

Rt. hon. Mr. Holast-Sir, I believe from the infrare of the engelians they someofal that they that they will farish refer y rational less challed a mathematical and the few hone. I am fine the years he conducted and he was they are full that our conficts he compressed after an they are infrared as the compress of the forest factor.

MONDAY FEBRUARY, 18.

Right hon. Mr. fecretary Hobart—Having on a former oceasion given my opinion more at large upon the Roman catholic question, I shall not now farther trouble the house, than in presenting the bill for the further relief of the Roman catholics, which having done, I shall move to have it printed, and read a second time on Friday next.

The bill was then read a first time, and is as follows:

Whereas various acts of parliament have been passed, imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanour of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued:

"Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and confent of the lords fpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament affembled, and by the authority of the fame, that his majefty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forseitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, save such as his majefty's fubjects of the protestant religion are liable and fubject to, and that fuch parts of all oaths required to be taken by perfons voting at elections for members to ferve in parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same as a papist, or married to a papist, or educates his children in the populh religion, shall

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not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be totally omitted by the person administering the same, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in any wise notwithstanding.

- "Provided always, that nothing herein before contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or alter any law or act of parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by performenjoying any offices or places of trust under his majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as herein after is enacted.
- "Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give persons professing the popular religion a right to vote at any parish vestries for levying of money to rebuild or repair parish churches, or for the salary of the parish clerk.
- " Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend to authorise any person professing the Roman catholic religion, to have or keep in his possession, any arms, armour, amunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or flocks of guns or fire-arms, or to exempt fuch persons from any forfeiture or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armour or amunition in the hands of any papift, or respecting papifts having or keeping fuch warlike stores, fave and except persons of the Roman catholic religion feized of a freehold estate of 100l. a year, or posfessed of a personal estate of 1000l. or upwards, who are hereby authorifed to keep arms as protestants now by law may; and also save and except Roman catholics possessing a freehold estate of 101. yearly value, and less than 1001. or a personal

personal estate of 100l. and less than 1000l. who thall have, at the fession of the peace in the county in which they relide, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the 13th and 14th years of his present majetty's reign, entitled an act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him, and also in open court swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same of 10l. or a personal property of 100l. above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of fuch freehold, and nature of fuch personal property; which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of 6d and no more, for every fuch affidavit; and the person making fuch affidavit, and pofferfing fuch property, may keep and use arms fo long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of Iol. and upwards if freehold, or the value of 1001. if personal, in like manner as his majesty's protestant subjects may, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding,

"And be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for persons professing the Roman catholic religion to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices or places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs and successors in this kingdom, and to hold or take any professorship in any university or college, except a professorship of divinity in the college of the holy and undivided trinity of queen Elizabeth near Dublin, and to hold any office or place of trust in any lay body corporate without taking or subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken.

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ken, made and subscribed to enable any person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the facrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Ireland; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the 13th and 14th years of his majesty's reign, entitled, an act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him.

" Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to enable any perfon to fit or vote in either houses of parliament, or to hold, exercife, or enjoy the offices of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper or commissioner of the great feal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the Exchequer, chief juffice of the court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, lord chief baron of the court of Exchequer, justice of the court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or baron of the Court of Exchequer, mafter or keeper of the rolls, fecretary of state, vice treasurer or deputy vice-treasurer, teller and chashier of the Exchequer, or auditor general, chief commissioners of his Majesty's revenues of customs or excise, secretary to the lord lieurenant, lord deputy or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majefty's most hon. privy council, prime ferjeant, attorney general, folicitor general, fecond and third ferjeants at law, king's counfel, masters inchancery, provoft or fellow of the college of the holy and undivided Trinity of queen Elizabeth near Dublin, post-master general, master and lieutenant general of his majesty's ordnance, commander in chief

of his majefty's forces, generals on the staff, and theriffs of any county in this kingdom, or any office contrary to the rules, orders, and direction made and established by the lord lieutenant and council, in pursuance of the act passed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of king Charles II. entitled an act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act, entitled an act for the better execution of his majefly's gracious declaration for the fettlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and fatisfaction of the feveral interests of adventurers. foldiers, and other his subjects there, and for making fome alterations of and additions unto the faid act, for the more speedy and effectual fettlement of this kingdom, unless he shall have taken, made, and fubfcribed the oaths and declaration, and performed the feveral requifites which by any law heretofore made and now of force are required to enable any person to fit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

"Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall enable any person professing the Roman catholic religion to take or enjoy any advowson or right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

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"And be it enacted, that no person professing the Roman catholic religion shall be liable to or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

"Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to authorise any popish priest, or reputed popish priest, to celebrate marriage between protestant

protestant and protestant or between any person who hath been, or professed himself or herielf to be a protestant at any time within twelve months before fuch celebration of marriage and a papift, unless such protestant and papitt shall have been first married by a clergyman of the protestant religion; and that every populh prieft, or reputed popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two protestants, or between any such protestant and papist, unless such protestant and papift shall have been first married by a clergyman of the protestant religion, shall forfeit the fum of 500l. one moiety to his majelty, his heirs and fuccessors, and the other moiety to the person or persons who shall sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his majesty's courts of record, wherein no essoine, protection, wager of law, or more than one imparlance shall be allowed, and shall not be liable to any other punishment for such offence.

"And whereas it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall be pleased so to alter the statutes of the college of the holyand undivided Trinity near Dublin, and of the university of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman catholic religion to take degrees in the said university; to remove any obstacle which now exists by statute law.

of it shall not be necessary for any person, upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath, save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

The bill was ordered to be read a fecond time on Friday.

Sir L. Parsons, spoke as follows .- Mr. speaker. there never was a more important moment; public expectation is wound to the highest; we must give what will gratify, but will not defiroy; an error now may bring on years of calamity; you have many things to fear; the exorbitance of popular defire; the reluctance of ministers to change; the divisions which subfift among yourfelves. We may however do a great benefit to our country, we owe much to it. The popular effervescence directed well, may administer health to the conflitution; it has already awoke ministers from their dream of omnipotence, and you from your ofcitancy over the public wrongs; it has done more; it has called forth an acknowledgment of the dilapidations which time has made in your conflicution, and produced a righteous resolution towards its amendment. Never did I fee, never did I hear of a more dignified affembly than you appeared at the beginning of this fession; when the subject of parliamentary reform was first proposed. So many men making such flupendous facrifices at the shrine of the public weal. It feemed to me like a kind of miracle, which I hardly had fenfes to believe; every one on every fide uttering fuch fentiments, as if the facred flame of liberty had dropped from heaven upon your heads and filled you with its inspirati-Proceed now to act, as you have spoke.

There are two great objects which agitate the public mind; the extension of privileges to the catholics; and the reform of parliament; they are both intimately connected with each other. I confine myself now to that part of the catholic subject,

Subject, which relates to franchise and representation; every thing else is comparatively of little importance, and should be considered distinctly. I fay then catholic enfranchisement, and parliamentary reform are intimately connected with each other; and he is but a puny flatesman, who in confidering them, would confider them feparately; for the extent of what you give to the catholics depends upon the reform, and the effects of the reform depends upon the extent of franchife you give to the catholics; he therefore who would feparate them, would take a partial, imperfect, and contracted view of each. It is therefore I defire your attention to-day, that before we go into either, we may take a general view of both, that we may see what may be done to heal the present discontents and done safely. This country cannot prosper while it continues in this state of fermentation; nor can you have any repose nor even affurance of any fecurity, fuch is the perturbed ftate of the publick mind. I shall therefore state, what I think will restore tranquillity to the country. I do not fay, it will give perfect content, for nothing will effect that, but it will content every reasonable and moderate man, and then we may without danger proceed to repress the reft.

What I shall propose will not perhaps be perfectly agreeable to either party; neither to those who are in power, nor to those who are aspiring to power; if however it is adopted and saves my country, I care not for myself. If it does not, I have that consolation of which nothing can deprive me; that I have done my duty, and that I have an approving tribunal in my own bosom.

First, then, as to the catholics-

The catholics have been deposed from all authority in this country; for a century they were (fuch were the unhappy circumstances of the times) unavoidably deposed; and I will lift my voice against any man who defames our protestant ancestors for that deposition. Had the ancestors of the catholics been triumphant, they would have done the same; they did do the same. But let the conduct of all our ancestors on both sides rest in oblivion. It is not the part of Irishmen to disparage the characters of those who went before them; be their fect or party what it might, let it be remembered, that they were still Irishmen, and that their blood is at this day running through our veins. Where we can, we should adorn their tombs with trophies; where we cannot, we should leave their memories to fleep in peace.

If the catholic parliament of James II. was moved by a perfecuting spirit, I am forry for it, because it is a blemish upon so great a portion of the Irish character of that day. If the protestant parliament that fucceeded them, were moved by the same spirit, I am still forrier for it; but then I look for the vindication of all our ancestors in the temper of the times. I look to England at that period, and there I fee the fame spirit. I look to France, and there I fee Louis XIVth, just before the revolution, revoking the edict of Nantz, and perfecuting and banishing 500,000 protestants out of his dominions. But when I confider, that the parties in Ireland were nearly ballanced; that is, the protestants were the less numerous, but had a great support from England; the catholics were the more numerous, but had, but a fmall fupport from France; in this equipoife of party I fee, that fome oppression was necessary, whichever party was fuccessful, in order that it might preferve

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preserve its pre-eminence. Not fo in England, there the protestants were ominipotent, therefore oppression by them was persecution. In France the catholics were omnipotent, therefore oppreffion by them too was perfecution; but in Ireland the powers were nearly equal, and therefore what in France and England was perfecution, in Ireland was policy. It is thus I refcue the characters of all Irifhmen at that period; and if a fpirit of intolerance is imputable to them, it is an hundred times more imputable to their great and enlightened neighbours in England and. France, not to mention all the other kingdoms of Europe, in which till the other day, the most cruel and barbarous perfecutions on account of religion were practifed. But let us draw a curtain over these unhappy periods of our history; it is not what protestants or catholics have been that we are to confider, but what they are now.

To give some participation of franchise to the Roman catholics is no longer a matter of choice, but of the most urgent and irrelistible policy. When protestants of all descriptions were united in withholding it, and when England backed them in doing fo, it might be withheld. But is this the flate of things now? Are the protestants united? Is England aiding? No-but the reverse. Add to all this an impending and tremendous war, and then I ask, can the claim to the catholics be altogether refifted?' Impossible.

I do not however flate this to infinuate to the catholics, that their power in this country is irrefistible. No-while their conduct is temperate, and what will gratify them reasonable, it may be fo; but were they intoxicated with their prefent fuccess, and instigated by any mischievous incendiary

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ns y incendiary to proceed to any thing unreasonable in act or demand, they would find the Protestants once more united against them, England united against them, many of their own persuasion united against them, and their present strength would become present imbecility.

It is my opinion then, that the elective franchise ought not to be imparted to any catholic, who hath not a freehold property of 20l, a year. But first let me observe, that I never yet spoke on any subject in this house respecting the catholics, save a few words the other night; nor did I ever give a vote against any measure in which was involved any catholic claim. I did not vote for the rejection of the catholic petition in the last fession. Any thing that this house has once done, should be spoken of with respect; I shall therefore only fay, that I greatly disapproved of that measure. I rose to state my reasons against it, but at the same infrant a leading gentleman in the opposition arose, I gave way. He stated the sentiment of his friends to be decidedly for the rejection of the petition. He was rapidly followed by the right hon. fecretary with the fame fentiment.

In this general confluence of parties, I could not hope that my voice would be of any avail; and being peculiarly circumstanced with respect to my constituents, I thought it would be imprudent in me to give an inefficient vote, which I know would be vulnerable to much misrepresentation. I therefore immediately arose and left the house. After this, I trust, it will not be supposed, that I entertain any illiberality of sentiment with respect to the catholics. Religion is a subject, upon which prejudice so often over-rules reason, even in the most candid minds, that saying so much

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of one's felf in order to remove fuch an impression, will, I hope be deemed fomewhat excuseable. Now to proceed. Every one admits that the number of the catholics greatly exceeds that of the protestants, consequently if the catholics had an equal right of franchife, they must become the majority of voters at almost every popular election. I do not fay, that at this instant the number of catholics who have 40s. freeholds is greater than of protestants. But I say it would immediately be fo. Perhaps most of the catholics now have but leases for years; but landlords, wishing to encrease their own consequence, would almost every where convert them into leafes for lives; and though the catholics might not in many inftances have 40s. profit, yet we know, that when it comes any thing near to that fum, the lower order of people will be tempted to vote from it. I therefore fay, that if catholics of 40s. freeholds were allowed to vote. the number it would admit would be immense and overwhelming.

Some I know think that these inferior catholics would be so dependent upon their landlords who are mostly protestants, that they might be admitted to the franchife without any danger. To this I fay, that though they might vote with their landlords, they might also vote against theminterest might lead them one way, but bigotry might lead them another; for though I believe the higher class of catholics to be as liberal as any men, the lower class we know are not fothey are too ignorant to be fo.

If you fay that their prejudices were occasioned by their oppression, and that they will cease with that oppression, I ask, have the protestants had no prejudices? and yet how were they oppressed?

It is the expiring embers of civil discords which inflame the fects against each other, not oppression, and though abolition of distinctions may cool it will not at once quench them. Had the proteftants prejudices against the catholics until now, or had they not? If you fay they had not, I ask, how can you account for their with-holding fo much from the catholics until the other day? How can you account for their with-holding fo much until now? Was it policy? If it was policy, what has produced the fudden change? if it was not policy, must it not have been prejudice? How can you account for your own fentiment on this fubject in the last session, and your change of fentiment fince?

If any franchise to catholics was dangerous then, will not every franchife to them be dangerous now? or if not, must you not confess that you were actuated by prejudice in the last fession, and then what follows? That you, the most enlightened affembly in the nation-you, on the eminence of legislative power—you were so actuated by prejudice in the last fession, that you would not even fuffer a petition from the catholics to lie in neglect and oblivion on your table, and which only in humble language implored, much lefs than you are now going to grant-can you then suppose, that the wretched catholic peafant, wrapped in the thickest shades of ignorance, and scared by superstition and bigotry, that he should have no prejudices, or that he should not have. very ftrong ones?

By granting franchife then to the inferior cacatholics, what do you do? You give franchise to a body of men in great poverty, in great ignorance; bigotted to their feet and their altars; repelled

repelled by ancient prejudices from you; and at least four times the number of you. You give them all at once the elective franchise, by which they will almost in every county in three provinces out of the four, be the majority of electors, controlling you, overwhelming you, resisting and irresistible. I cannot conceive a phrenzy much greater than this. Allow them every virtue that elevates man—still this is a trial, that no body of men, that are or ever were, should be put to.

I think as well of the catholics as I do of any body of men in this country or any other, but still I would not trust so much to any body of men in such circumstances. Not to the protestants to whom I belong—not to the distenters whom I highly respect. I can only consider the catholics as men, and they must be more than men, if, in such a situation, they could be safe-ly entrusted with such a power.

But still some men think that the inferior catholics would not abuse this power. I do not say it is certain that they would; neither can you fay that it is certain they would not; and this is a cafe in which nothing should be left to uncertainty, because upon this every thing else depends. Suppole you gave the inferior catholics franchile, and that they should meet in all their parishes to determine on the exercise of it, as they lately did, to determine on the attainment of it; and that they should nominate in their chapels their representatives to the parliament, as they lately did their delegates to the convention, what would there be to stop them ? The power of their landlords might do much, but the power of religion might do much more. How much might these people be wrought upon by their priefts, at their

altars, working upon their fuperstition and poverty? How eafily might they be perfuaded, that their temporal as well as their eternal felicity depended upon their uniting together in the exexercise of their franchise. I do not say, that all this would follow; but I fay, that all this, and more might follow; and therefore that we should not wantonly risk it.

Some think it fafe to give the elective franchife. to the inferior catholics on this supposition, that they are so inferior in property few can acquire it, and therefore the protestants will still be the majority of electors. To determine this, confider the flate of the country. First the great increase of tillage. Those large farms, which a few years ago were all in pasture grounds, each occupied by a fingle protestant farmer, are now broken into feveral parcels tenanted for the most part by catholic hufbandmen, fo that feven or eight catholics hold the ground at prefent, which one protestant held formerly. Will not most of these be voters? Consider this also; land has rifen within five or fix years one-fourth in its value. Land which fix years ago you could not let for more than 20s. an acre, you can now let for 25s. an acre: what follows? That the catholic, who had his land but fix years ago for the extremity of its value, has it now for one-fourth less than its value; therefore he must hold a very fmall quantity, who has not a profit to qualify him to vote. To give an inflance of the operation of this rife: Suppose a catholic held fo small a quantity of land as ten acres at 20s. an acre. and that this was reckoned a rack rent fix years ago; from the rife of land fince he must have a profit from it of 50s. a year now. Confider further, that this increase of tillage and rise of land have

have principally been fince catholics were allowed to take freehold leafes, and then confider how three provinces of this kingdom are covered with catholics, and can you doubt of the multitude of catholic voters, should you extend to them the 40s. fanchise?

Again it is argued, that most of the landlords are protestants, and that they will not be inclined to give freehold leafes to the catholics. alk, who can be certain that they will not? if however it is meant, that the catholics will get but little influence by the 40s. franchife, then their gain is little. But if they should get great influence, then your danger is great. It is wife then to do, what in the one alternative can do them little good, and what in the other may do you irreparable mischief? But it may be said, these extreme cases are improbable, and that the landlords will not all act one way, or all another. I will answer to this, that as far as they act in either way it applies! that is, the eatholic gains nothing as far as freehold is withheld, and you risk much as far as freehold is granted. And as thost men are apt to prefer their own power to the public weal, especially where the interest of the public may not be immediately manifest, it follows, that landlords will rather follow the aggrandizement of their own power, than confider the danger to the state, and therefore will grant in freehold to the catholics.

But further; in three provinces out of the four, the catholics are fix times the number of the protestants. Now if you gave them the 40s. franchise, and if catholics could obtain freeholds with the same facility as protestants, the number of catholic freeholders in these three provinces would be

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What a stupendous and overwhelming majority? Make then the amplest deduction probability will admit from this huge majority on account of catholic poverty and protestant landlords, and pride and prejudice and every thing else, and after all, what a great majority must remain to the catholics? I therefore say, give them the 40s. franchise, and in these three provinces they exceed you so much in their gross numbers, that they must exceed you in their votes. This appears to me as certain as that six is a greater number than one, or any other arithmetical axiom.

The next confideration is, whether being fuperior to you thus in number of votes, they would exercife this fuperiority to your exclusion? I ask then which are the protestants or the catholics the more prejudiced? Perhaps you will fay the catholics; but I will suppose them to be equally fo and then I ask, if the catholics were allowed to be representatives, but not electors, what chance could any catholic candidate have in any county in the kingdom! None. If the catholics then become the great majority of electors in any county, what chance can any proteftant candidate have in fuch county? None. Give then the 40s. franchife to the catholics, and they will become the majority of electors in three provinces of this kingdom; and consequently will elect catholic representatives for every county in these three provinces. Add a parliamentary reform to this, by throwing borough reprefentation into the counties collectively or divisionally, and then you will have all catholic representatives for these provinces, and most probably also for fome of the counties even in the fourth, and thus the representatives of three provinces being catholics

tholics, the great majority of the house of commons will be catholics; and all this only supposing the catholics not to be a jot more prejudiced against you, than you must admit the protestants to be against them. Is there any thing

unreafonable then in this supposition?

If you fay this cannot happen, for catholics are to be excluded from fitting imparliament, observe the confequence. The great objection to give the 40s. franchife to the catholics refts upon this, that they would not give their fuffrages indifferently as other electors, but that they would give them as a catholic party, and to fuch representatives as would be, not the best representatives for the nation, but the best representatives for promoting the view of their party. Now the exclusion of catholic representatives from fitting in parliament, as well as every other remaining catholic reftriction instead of being a security against catholics combining their fuffrages, will be an additional inducement to them to do lo; for the more points they have to gain, the more inducements they will have to enter into fuch combination. And even if you were certain, that they never would aspire to an ascendancy over you, as you have hitherto over them, still you must be certain, that they would aspire to an equality; and therefore combine to obtain it. But further, were they to affociate to chufe representatives, do you think, they could long want candidates, even among proteftans, or nominal protestants, fit for their purpose? could they not eafily get in every county enough of candidates, who would offer to take their tefts. and promise to obey them, and the first object of whole mission to parliament would be to repeal those oaths, which you now take at that table, and admit the catholics to fit here indifcriminately? Such would be the representatives of three provinces

vinces out of four, in the next parliament; what then would be the representatives in the parliament the next after? Would they have even the name or semblance of protestants?

Now what is there to control all this? Merely the power of their landlords. This is the reply in the mouth of every catholic advocate, to every thing I have been stating. Now if this be true, what does it mean? Merely this: that if you give the 40s. franchise to the catholics, the protestant landlords will still, as before, return the representatives. Now what benefit is this to the catholic body, to have the name of chusing their representatives, if still they are to be chosen, not by them but by the protestant landlords? What benefit is it to the constitution, if catholics in name only, but the protestant landlords in fact, continue as before to return the representatives?

If it is the same influence, that still returns, is not the dispute about a form, and not for a substance? Will the catholics be more free by being the organs to express the will of their landlords, and not their own will? Or if on the contrary it would not be so; if the catholics would think and act for themselves independent of their landlords, what then is the argument from the influence of their landlords, but a base deception to dupe and impose upon your credulity? and for which if you could be so duped, you would not be respected for your liberality, but laughed at by the whole world for your weakness, and you would deserve to be laughed at.

I do not expect of the house of commons of Ireland, that it should be wifer than any assembly in the world, but, I only implore it, that it may not Z 2 immortalize immortalize itself for its folly. If you a protestant house of commons mean to give up your power to the catholics, do so; I shall acquiesce; but do it openly; it may be a magnanimous act, and take the credit for your magnanimity; avow it to the whole world: many and great heroes have resigned the ensigns of their authority, and sunk into the vale of private station; kings have laid down their sceptres; you may depose yourselves; do so; but say so and let the world know, that you are not ignorant of what you are about, and that it is a work of your free volition, and not of a fatuitous ignorance and imbecility.

But to flew you the weakness of your fituation, should you give the forty shillings franchise to the catholics, and how much weaker it will be, than I have even yet flated it to be, confider this. The catholics, I fay, in every county in three provinces will unite, to chuse representatives in their interest, in opposition to those in the protestant interest, and this against the will of their landlords. Now how, you will ask, can this be done? I will tell you. It is evident in the first place, that the catholics will be then the majority of freeholders in three provinces out of the four; and that in any fair plan of reform being the majority of freeholders if they act together, they must return the representatives for these three provinces. That if they do this, they get a majority in the house of commons, and a majority of the house of commons, in our constitution, we know, is every thing: Thatis, a majority of the house of commons, has the controul over the fupplies, and the fupplies give them a controul over other powers in the flate. Here then is the prize to tempt the catholics to unite in their fuffrages, all the wealth, and all the power in the land. Will this produce no exertion? Will

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Will this make no men, or will it not make multitudes of men among them, active and intriguing? What then are men to do? Merely to tell. them this, merely to tell them their fituation, and " fay to them, " you are now the majority of " clectors, and you may therefore return the ma-" jority of the house of commons, and if you do-" fo, the catholic interest is omnipotent; we only " ask you to do what you did the other day; to " meet in your chapels and determine, who should " be the representatives of every county or district " as the reform may be." They may fay, " your " landlords will want you' to vote otherwise, but " unite together this once, and we will foon put " you out of the power of your landlords. They " may tell them that by their uniting thus in the " last fummer to chuse representatives to the con-" vention, you got relieved from the hearth-money " tax, and even got this very benefit of voting, "which we now call on you to exercise," and from thence they may perfuade them, that if they unite again in the fame way to chuse their representatives to parliament, they may be fure of obtaining still much greater benefits.

They may talk to them of tithes, and even of rents, and at last proceed to talk to them of religion, and tell them, "if you will unite in your suffrages, your ancient religion, which has been prostrated in the dust, "for a century, and hus miliated and reviled, may once more rear its head, and appear in all its prissine magnificence and after the wrongs of a century you may now do an act of great justice to your priests, your altars, and your God, which shall shower down wealth and power upon you in this world, and eternal glory in the next.

What influence could a landlord use to countervail this? Yet, all this, and much more, might be done to make them, co-operate in their suffrages. Will you then, after this, will you transfer such a power to men who are subject to such an influence? Will you be your own executioners, and commit this desperate suicide?

Neither is it merely a furrender of power; you cannot tell what use would be made of that power. by those to whom you would furrender it. One party thinks the catholics are friends to high kingly government, and would therefore make them a counterpoise to the levellers; another party thinks they have caught the flame of French politics, and would co-operate with them in their democratical speculations. But the truth is, that no man knows, nor can any man make a wellfounded conjecture, what would be the conduct of fuch a body of representatives; nor even can they know individually, what they might do themfelves, when they should be thus collected : whether they might not fink into fervile compliance to preserve the ascendency which they had thus obtained, or whether they might not fpread their depredations into all the widest excesses of democratic licentiousness.

Is all this to be risked? Are we, living under the best constitution that wisdom or accident has yet conferred upon man; in one of the finest islands, and in a state, but the other day of the most rapid prosperity; are we to risk all this? And for what? In order to give a liberty to the lower eatholics; and which if they had, their best friends tell you, they would only exercise as slaves to their landlords. Insanity!

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See then the chain. Give the catholics the 40s. franchife and they will be the majority of electors: being the majority of electors, they will return the majority of the house of commons : the majority of the house of commons to returned will have the controll over the supplies, and the controll over the fupplies will give them the controll over every thing. Could any demonstrative feries be more certain and confecutive than this? Who is there that can deny a proposition of it? But to go on; fuppose that having thus got a major rity of the house of commons, they should chuse to have an afcendency in their turn, what could you do? Suppose they stopped the supplies until they modelled the army, or modelled the peerage what could you do? Suppose they proceeded to acts of intollerance against you, as you did against them, following your own example; what could you do? Are protestants willing to submit to all this? Are the differers willing to submit to it? Is this the improvement in the conflitntion, which they have been struggling for ? It is not to put themselves up, but to put the catholics up, and themselves down for ever? The diffenters I always respected as a most wife people. I fear fome mist stands before them at this instant, and that they do not fee their way; I trust, however, that you will fee your way, and the gulph that is prepared for you.

Again it is asked, "will the catholics be content with a limited franchise?" But I say it is not what will content them, but what ought to content them, that we ought to consider. I am willing to give them every thing, except what will terminate in our own destruction. In some things I would rather go even further than the bill; though in the franchise I would not go so

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far.—This misfortune is, that the right hon gentleman, who has negociated it, does not underftand the internal state of the country, and is ignorant of its interests. In England such a liberty of franchise might be of little consequence, not merely from the paucity of catholics there, but from the nature of tenures:

The right hon gentleman knows that in England (for I suppose him not to be so much unacquainted with that country) that there, I say, the lands are mostly let from year to year—or for seven years—or sometimes sourteen years, or sometimes and more rarely, for twenty-one years, but that leases for lives are seldom granted. Consequently the rabble of the people there cannot obtain freehold property—Nay a great majority of the middle classes cannot obtain it. I have heard it stated by a very accurate and well informed man, that the number of county electors in England was but 100,000. I know not whether this be the fact, but certainly the number is but very small.

Here the tenures are quite different; almost all the lands of the country are let for lives; so that almost every peasant, has a freehold tenure, and if not disqualised by religion, has a vote. See then the effect of this upon the present question; all the catholic peasantry will be admitted to vote. What a rabble will this let into the constitution! I am not objecting to them now as catholics. If they were protestants I would never vote for an infusion into the constitution of such a multitudinous rabble. If they were all protestants, I say, for sity generations back, I would not consent to the overwhelming of the constitution by such a torrent. In some counties where there

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passes but 2,000 electors now, you will, if this bill passes, have 10,000; in others 20,000, in others 30,000, and I am well informed in the county of Cork alone you will have 50,000: that is, half what I have stated the whole elective body to

be of all the counties in England.

What will be the confequence of this? But that your county elections will be carried by the vileft corruption, by force, by riot, by bloodshed; and that, not merit, but money, and outrage will nominate the candidate?-Do you think you will meliorate the conflitution by admitting into it fuch a copious adulteration of rabble as this? I do not defire you now to confider them as differing from you in religion, but merely their poverty, their numbers, their ignorance, their barbarous ignorance, many of them not being able to speak even our language, and then think, whether giving them this franchile will be an improvement in the conflitution; or whether it will not be a most pernicious vitiation of it? The county representation is now reckoned the found part of the constitution; but where will be its foundness with fuch a constituency? I repeat it again; put religion for an instant out of your consideration; fuppose them all protestants, and yet should such a multitude be invested with such a power? I have often heard the fervility and venality of 40s. freeholders complained of; that they were in general driven to elections by their landlords, or feduced against them by bribes. Still however being confined to protestants their number was too few to be formidable, and they gave a certain portion of popularity to our elections, not perhaps without its advantage; still however the were much objected to. But what will be the state of things now, when in three provinces, the number of these voters will be encreased five or

fix fold without any proportional accession of free-

holders of property to countervail them.

Now I fay the interior catholics will be content without this, if they are not infligated by the fuperior ones, and even if they were discontented, they could be easily kept down. Have they not been kept down hitherto? Is any gentlemen in the counties, where they are the most numerous, afraid of them? No. Have not the juries and the public meetings in those counties entered into refolutions, but the other day, against giving the catholics any franchise? And do you think they would do fo, if they thought it would be dangerous to withhold it? Or who can be fo good judges whether it would be dangerous or no? If then in the opinion of those men, it would not be dangerous to withhold from them all franchife, furely there can be no danger in with-holding from them some franchise, and that too from their very lowest orders?

The catholics may be confidered as divded into three classes: The first, who aspire to seats in parliament.—The second, who are of the middle class of 201 a year freehold property and upwards. And the lower class of whom I have

been speaking.

As to the middle class, so far from considering it as an offensive limitation to them, to withhold franchise from the lower orders, I am of opinion, that most of them would be better pleased it should be so withheld. Every information I have been able to procure from those counties, where they most abound, consirms me in this sentiment. But further, I know it is the nature of man to love distinction and pre-eminence. I seldom knew a protestant 101 freeholder who did not wish that protestant 40s. freeholders should not vote, and for the same reason I am persuaded the middle

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dlle dle catholics will be better pleafed, that the inferior ones should not have votes.

Again, the first class of catholics might be as much, or more gratified, by being rendered elible to parliament; and what danger should we run from this?-None if you keep the main part of the constituency protestant; for no number of any confequence will then be able to avail themselves of this liberty. And I am sure it would be a much more gratifying favour to the catholics, and more liberal on your part; why not do fo then? Is it a false and narrow pride? For my part I feel no fuch fentiment towards the ca-I should not be forry to see a respectable catholic fitting here on my right hand, and another on my left, provided that by keeping the ffrength of the conflituency protestant, we did not endanger ourselves, by the admission of too many of them: a catholic house of commons will never fpring out of a protestant root. But if the root be catholic, no man can be fure how long the flem and branches will continue protestant.

What will follow next from this unlimited franchise? A parliamentary reform; a most extensive and probably a most levelling parliamentary reform. For make the catholics the great majority of the electors of the kingdom, and do you think, that they would be satisfied at the boroughs remaining as they are in the possession of protestants? No. But the very day after you grant them these privileges, they will be ripe for joining with the North in the demand

for a reform.

Has the right hon, gentleman faid, that they will be fatisfied with what he has now proposed? Have they made any such declaration to him? No; or if they did, how far would this Le bind-

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ing? It might be binding upon the few individuals that made it, but not upon the great body of the catholics. Those individuals if they perfevered, would be soon disclaimed by the catholics, as lord Kenmare and his friends were, who were for resting satisfied with what was done in the last session.

What is the language in the North? "Let us " give the catholics franchife, that they may join " with us in obtaining reform." (They know that the catholics are not such fools as not to jom, and obtain it, if they can, when by obtaining it, they also obtain the nomination of three-fourths of the members of the house of commons, that is, they obtain every thing. I fay then, they will join in obtaining the reform; but what kind of reform: Certainly the most levelling; for being greatly fuperior in numbers, and greatly inferior in property, (not having above one fiftieth of the property of the kingdom,) they will find it their interest to support that reform, which will give most weight to numbers, not to property, that is, the reform, which will be most democratic and levelling. And then I ask, if they thus unite, can you refult them? If you fear them, before they get the powers in this bill, shall you not have more reason to fear them afterwards?

If the English minister at this crisis sears the catholics alone, do you think he should not sear the catholics, and dissenters, and the greater part of the protestants of the country all united? And will not this reform be the bond of their union? No man is so weak as to think, that it was liberality in the English minister, which made him accede to these concessions to the catholics, and risk the monstrous experiment of admitting three millions of people into the heart of the consistant on, who had hitherto been excluded from it.

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What follows? That if fear has made him concede so much to the catholics alone, what must be not concede to the catholics and different united, together with much the greater part of the protestants. Therefore this extensive franchise, instead of making the catholics contented, and preventing them from uniting with the different ters; is the very measure which will force the union, because it is the very measure which will make it the interest of the catholics to press for a reform, and how sew here do not know how

interest over-rules the actions of men?

Some I know will object to what I have been flating, and fay, that I am shewing to the catholics what they may do, and how they may do it. But do you believe the catholics to be fuch weak and fimple men, as that they cannot discover their own firength and their own interests without my instruction? Has the right hon, member found them fo in his negociation, or has he not found them the very reverse? But I say, I will not fit filent here, when it is proposed to you, and proposed by a person in that flation which has always so much influence upon you, to do an act, which will foon depose you from your pre-eminence, and put you down for ever; and when you too feem to be deliberating under the tranfitory influences of office, and station, and fearbase fear, whether or no you will do it.

In short, there never was a measure pretending to be a great one, more narrowly conceived than the present bill: It courts the catholic rabble, and insults the catholic gentry. It gives power to those who are ignorant, and therefore dangerous, and withholds it from those who are enlightened, and therefore safe. It gives equal powers with the protestants to the lower class of eatholics, who are the most numerous, and thereby

thereby gives them a superiority: and it does not give equal powers to the upper class, who are less numerous than you, and who could therefore have had no superiority; that is, it does the very

reverse of what it ought to do.

The next measure I would recommend is the incorporation of the catholic franchise with parliamentary reform. The elective franchise is the great object of the catholics, for though they defire other things, they say, without this they are not freemen but slaves. Esteeming it then so, this must be the paramount consideration with them, and in comparison of which, every thing else they desire must be as nothing. I there consider they desire must be as nothing. I there consider myself at present to the consideration of this. I say then, I would have the catholic franchise included in the bill for parliamentary reform. Extension of franchise is properly a subject of such reform. The other catholic measures I think

should be the subject of a separate bill.

Now I ask, what is the objection against uniting these measures, for the catholic franchise being a measure of representation, and the reform being a measure of representation the union of them is obvious? What then is the objection to uniting them? Now, there are but two objections, one that it might risk the catholic question-the other that it would delay it. Now as to the objection on account of delay-I fee no fense in this. If we were on the eve of a general election, there would be fome reason for expedition, and the catholics might be anxious to get a power, which they were immediately to exercise—but there is no general election pendent. As the catholics then could have no opportunity for the immediate exercise of the franchise, if it were granted them, what reason can there be for precipitancy? Or is it the risk you fear, least the reform being affociated within the catholic question, should sink both? Now what is it I ask has ensured the measure of the catholics? Is it not the criss? And why? Because in this time of popular fermentation the minister deemed it wise to conciliate so great a body of the people. What follows? That if he deemed it prudent at this time to conciliate a part of the people, he will deem it the height of imprudence, to irritate the whole of the people. And will he not do so, if we unite these measures, and he should advise the crown to reject them? Unite then the nation, I say, by uniting these measures, and proceed boldly and searlessly like men in the

great cause of a great and united people.

But fever these measures, and what is the confequence? The minister will think that he has gratified fo great a part of the people by the catholic measure, that he may venture to controul the rest: and under this delusion he may crush the reform. And what a multitude of mischiefs the rejection of the reform would produce, after public expectation has been fo much excited upon it, it is for you to confider. Or if you fay "that the catholics having got franchise would join in calling for reform," true; but what would the minister think? that the catholics, having obtained fo much, would abate much in their fervour; and he would hope, after he had drawn off by the catholic bill fo great a portion of popular discontent, that he might venture for a while to leave the rest to ferment, resolving however at his leisure, to put a heavy curb on your future exertions.

Whether the catholics would object to the union of these measures, lest it should endanger their enfranchisement, I know not. But upon what principle is it I ask, that they expect this enfranchisement? Is it not that old prejudices have ceased, and that we are but one people united toge-

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ther, with but one interest animating the whole? Can they then hefitate, if they are fincere to combine their fate with ours? Are we to give them every thing, and will they risk for us nothing? I entertain no fuch fentiment of them. I cannot believe of them any thing fo felfish and unworthy, Their advocates fay, let them get franchise, and they will afterwards co-operate with the protestants, in obtaining reform. Admit they will, but why should our cause be the lacquey walking after theirs, or why thould they not go arm in arm together? I do not ask precedence for the protestant or the dissenter, neither do I wish to give precedence to the catholic before them both. The catholics have been affifted on this occasion by many protestants and many differers, will then the catholics neglecting their protestant and diffenting auxiliaries, infift on a separate treaty for themselves, at this critical juncture? But to whom am I addressing myself? Not to a catholic but a protestant house of commons, and therefore though it might be a prudent though not a generous policy in the catholics to prefer the cause of the protestants to theirs, yet I trust they will not submit to do so. See now what you gain by one combination of these measures. Should a minister say, let us divide the people of Ireland. Let us gratify a part and disappoint a part, by uniting the measures you defeat this ruinous policy. You force him either to reject all, which he dare not, or to admit all, and thus all parties fucceed. You join the reform with a measure already recommeded from the throne, and thereby obtain for it a paffport at the throne. You conciliate the minds of many protestants to the catholic franchise by thus embodying it with an act in favour of their own freedom; and you at once excite the whole people of Ireland from its shores to its center in a universal demand for this great charter of public liberty. I would

I would therefore begin, by giving but a limited franchife to the catholics; and by making but a moderate reform; and I would unite these measures. A sudden communication of power to a great body of people is never wife. Changes in an ancient constitution ought to be gradual. The example of France should be an awful admonition to us. Let us at this anomalous era secure as much benefit for our country as we can, but let us encounter as little danger. If a cloud fraught with lightnings is moving over our heads, what ought we to do? We ought to draw off silenty and imperceptibly if we can, and not excite a sudden explosion.

Again, by uniting these measures let no man think that it is my defign thereby to defeat catholic franchife. Those who know me, know that I am incapable of combating any measure in an infidious and finister way; whatever I oppose I have always, and will always, oppose openly. I fear no man or body of men. Whatever I think can be fafely granted to the catholics, I will grant: whatever I think cannot, I will endeavour to withhold, and I will fay fo. If the illiberal reprobation of that body of men, towards whom my heart has never cherished an illiperal fentiment, was to follow, I should regret it, yet would I speak, and I would act in the manner I thought right. If I did not, I should not think myfelf worthy to fit among you: I am fatisfied that you would despite me; that the catholics ought at least to despise me; and what would be worfe, and to my mind insupportable, I should despise myself. But I fear not the censure of the catholics.

Every respectable and candid man among them, at least when the sever of the present instant is B b past,

past, will respect me for speaking my sentiments boldly, and as for those who are not respectable and candid, I am not anxious about their esteem. Truth and reason are my only guides, and I would not swerve from these, though the wealth of the two hemispheres was to reward me for voting on one side, and death awaited me at your threshold for voting on the other.

The reason I should combine these measures is not to defeat catholic franchife, but to fecure parliamentary reform. Suppose the reform hould pass this house, are you in no danger of losing it after? Have you never lost a measure after it had passed this house? What became of the penfion-bill? Did it not pass here, and yet did it ever pass into a law? What became of the barrenland bill? What became of the mutiny bill? The mutiny bill was passed as a kind of charter for your freedom, and was it not converted into the very reverse? There is now no fuch power in England as altering your bills, but there is of suppressing bills. Witness the cordage bill; did it not pals both our houses, yet who has ever heard of it fince? If the Reform passes this house; can you be fure that it will pass the other house? Or if it does, can you be sure that it will not expire on the steps of the throne? That it will not be trodden under foot by a dark and clandestine negative; (one of the anomalies of our conflitution); though no viceroy might be prevailed upon to give it a negative publicly and openly.

The heart of the catholics is now in the franchife, I would therefore put it into the body of the reform; and make the minister feel how it palpitated for success, that he might tremble at its frustration. My heart is in the measure too, and if every impulse of

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my reason did not tell me it was wife. I should not press it upon your Credulity has always been the bane of Ireland, Generous and fanguine, we take: the first glimpse of success for the sober light of certainty. A reform is no fooner named, than every eye fees it enrolled. But if the friends of it are fanguine, the foes of it are cold and machinating, and you may be baffled at the very instant, that you are rapt in visions of success. I therefore exhort you, to neglect no human means of strengtheningit, move it discreetly but rapidly forward. Put catholic franchise into its bosom; and let it move on to the lords and to the throne, followed by the votive acclamations of

the whole people, north being a resistant made to definit Hon. D. Browne. I do not rife to answer the multiplicity of matter the hon, member has, on the catholic bill stated to the house. The whole, Sir, is very finely confused, and very alarming, and really above my recollection or powers of answering: but I: shall make a short observation on the only part of it that interests me, the evils with which the hon: member has threatened parliament, if they shall, pursuant to the bill of the minister, grant an unlimited franchife to the catholics, and fortunately there was an experience in the country that would be the best reply to him. In the reign of Elizabeth, and afterwards of Charles 2d, when the catholics had both the property and power of the kingdom; were electors and members of your parliament; fevere penal laws paffed against them, such was the ascendancy of protestant government and connection: with a protestant country. In the reign of William, when they were members of parliament, and electors of parliament, they were by laws difarmed and deprived of many rights. In the reign of Anne, by acts of the 2d and 8th of that reign, a parliament elected by Roman catholics, passed a code of laws, profcribing absolutely the whole catholic B b 2

people. Penalties that I do not now recollect were confirmed by acts of parliament of George the fifts, also elected by Roman catholics. And lastly, this very root of property that is to produce a stem to make us all papists, in the reign of George the 2d, produced a stem of representation that destroyed the root itself.

By an act of the first of George the 2d, the power of voting at elections was taken from catholics, which I think is some proof that it had not at least power to preserve itself. I trust those facts will be some kind of alleviation of the hon, member's sears on the subject of the bill passing into a law. Every penal law that has been enacted against catholics was passed by parliaments elected by catholics. Property and power, let me assure the hon, member, has, and ever would

have material controlling power.

Major Doyle.—I shall defer debating the bill until the proper stage for discussing its merits; but I merely rife to give notice, that as I think it self short of what was due to the acknowledged loyalty of the catholics, I intend to introduce a clause or clauses, which shall tend more fully to gratify the wishes of that body, and at the same time obviate the sears or supposed sears of those, who from ill-sounded apprehensions are adverse to their emancipation. I call upon the right hon secretary, for the sake of his character as a public man, to resist the advice of the hon, barenet, that of implicating the catholic question with that of reform, as the one must necessarily injure materially the other.

I hope, Sir, the hon, member was not founded in fuppoling the catholics owed the prefent favourable fentiments towards them, merely to the carsis, and not to their peaceable and loyal conduct; but if it were fo, the linking them to the reform must prove ruinous to their cause, for it was known that a length of time must

must necessarily be taken up on the subject of reform. from the variety of opinions relative to that question, before which the critis on which their cause is said to depend, will probably have paffed over. Combining their cause with that of reform, will also, Sir, have the effect, of uniting amongst their claim, all who were adverse to parliamentary reform. As to the objection, if they had got the franchife they would vote for those who befriended them I think they would be very extraordinary men indeed, if they did not prefer those who were their friends to those whom they conceived holfile to their wifees. It had been faid, that all clauses still left in the bill, operative against them, would be so many inducements to them to unite against the protestants to get rid of them: if this be for it is an additional reason for agreeing to my idea, of not leaving one offensive clause against them in the bill. bell monday tange

I shall defer offering specific clauses until the proper stage of the bill; but they go to do away such oaths as at present stood in the way of the catholic being on a footing of perfect equality with their protestant brethren, and substituting an oath for the security of the possession of property derived under the act of settlement. This I do not do from thinking it the least necessary, but that no argument of danger, even the most childish, should remain against their total emancipation.

Mr. Maxwell.—Sir, I defire to know whether the Roman catholic business is to be hurried through the house before the affizes? or whether a reasonable time will be allowed to gentlemen who still retain some regard to the protestant interest, to consider a business of such great magnitude, and to consult their constituents on it?

Mr. Secretary Hobert.—I trust, Sir, no man will suppose that I could be so indecent as to say that the business

business should be hurried, but I hope it will be con-

cluded before the affizes.

Right hon. Mr. Ogle.—I hope the right hon. genman will not infift upon Friday for the second reading of the bill. I entreat that he will reslect upon the importance of the subject. Surely no question of this magnitude was ever so hurried through an house of parliament; 'tis this day read a first time, in two days it will appear in print, and then in two days more we are to read it for the second time.

Would it not be decent, would it not be respectful to the protestants of Ireland, who sent us here, who entrusted their rights and liberties in our hands, to consult them upon what we are about to do? Will gentlemen recollect that they are but the trustees of the protestants of Ireland—that this is a bold measure indeed, and a measure which I do not think them warranted to take without the consent of their consti-

Sir Hercules Langrishe.—If the parliament of king William, if the parliament of queen Anne had a right to deprive the Roman catholics of their franchises, we surely have a right to say, " return to the enjoyment of your inheritance, to the possession of your franchise," by whatever right they can deprive, by the same right we can restore.

Mr. J. Claudius Beresford.—I desire that the right hon. gentleman will explain himself. He says we have a right to say—" return to your inheritance." Does he mean by this inheritance, the forseited es-

tates?

Sir Hercules Langrishe.—Sir, the hon, member entirely mistakes me; I meant only political rights and franchise—no estates.

Doctor Browne.—Sir, not only lawyers, but what is of much more importance, country gentlemen, will be obliged to leave town to attend on the affizes, and therefore

therefore the bill ought to be postponed. I must complain of the low trick admitted to be practised on us, in that the managers of the bill had delayed it to the eve of the assizes, and just at the time it was impossible for gentlemen to attend to it, they are anxious

to hurry it through the house.

Doctor Duigenan.—The right hon, baronet certainly did use the word inheritance, which he afterwards applied to political rights: He seems to think that those rights, though the exercise of them had been suspended for fifty years, may still be considered as an inheritance; but he scouts the idea of receiving any claim to estates that have been sorfeited above an hundred years. I will tell the right hon, baronet, that the same authority which declared their estates forfeited, did also deprive the Roman catholics of political power, and he might as well call the forseited estates their inheritance, as call the elective franchise by that name.

I affure the right hon. baronet, they will think length of possession no bar to their claims—they did not think it any in the reign of James II.—What was the first act of his popish parliament that met in Dublin? It was an act of resumption of all the estates forseited by papists in the rebellion of 1641: and if they then reassumed their estates, I cannot see why they may not do the same again whenever the parliament shall be sufficiently popish. I therefore think the observation of the hon, member (Mr. Claud. Beresford) very strong and very seasonably

made.

I think it is a very odd and a very indecent mananœuvre to press this business forward thus on the eve of the assizes, without allowing time to expose its pernicious tendency. Sir, the house, instead of two days should have at least a fortnight to consider this business, to precipitate it, is to treat the protes-

tants with the utmost contempt.

Right Hon. Mr. Hobart .- When I first introduced the subject of the bill, Sir, I fully explained its scope and intention. Of this the house and the nation were perfectly apprized. The argument, therefore, that I defire to precipitate the measure, and that further time should be given to consider it, must fall to the ground when these circumstances were recollected.

Right hon. Y. Guffe .- It is, Sir, extremely unjust to charge the right hon, gentleman with indecency or precipitation. The gentlemen on the other fide have repeatedly called on him for the bill, and even feemed to think him tardy: but now it was brought forward, he is reproached with indecent precipitancy. Surely there never was a man in his station that less. deferved fuch a confure, peyer one who conducted himself with such perfect respect and politeness towards that house and its individual members.

Mr. Egan.—Sir, I am perfusaded that the Roman catholics, however anxious they might be for the fate of the bill, would yet not wish to receive a boon which feemed to be the offspring of precipitancy, or the little measure of party, nor suffer themselves to be betrayed into a refractory impatience. They were now fully aware of the disposition of the house. and of his majefty's ministers; nor frould their emancipation even be poliponed, I am certain their loyalty, their prudence, or their patience were not to be chaken by the event. I hope, however, that government are really ferious in the objects of the bill, and that the measure of postponing the committal of it was not a trick to throw the advocates of the bill off their guard and lead them to diftant parts of the country.

The question was at length put that the bill be read a second time on Friday next, and carried with-

out a division.

Friday, Feb. 22.

The order of the day for the second reading of the

Roman catholic bill being called for,

Mr. George Know, rose to submit a motion to the House, in order to try whether this bill was considered by them as perfectly meeting the gracious wift of his majesty in his speech from the throne, a wish that measures might be adopted which would gratify his Roman catholic subjects, and he would himself add, not merely gratify, but fatisfy them in the fullest extent; and here he begged leave to centure those persons who had attributed to the introducers of reform and other popular measures, a disposition and intention to excite that flame which this bill endeavoured to allay; for he who attributed evil motives where good intentions might be from circumstances. prefumed, must speak either in ignorance or malice; it was not the genuine spirit of human nature to ascribe the actions of virtue to the motives of vice. He recollected the proceedings of the last session of parliament—but that recollection only proved to him, that a public body will never act as an individual; that to refift was only to encourage them, and to refuse served merely to demand. In this session he wished to shew to catholics, that the house met, not to discuss their claims but their interests—under no apprehension but that of erring, under no fear but of being unjust, until the catholics were permanently fatisfied, the constitution would not be satisfiedtheir claims were the claims of the constitution. was faid the catholics did not require more than the bill offered them, and therefore they should obtain no more. Was this reasoning for an Irish parliament? Was it not more fit for a French convention? Shall their demands be the definitive measure of concession, and their moderation the gauge of the liberality of parliament? He trusted that he would hear

no fuch sentiment in that house, and he was sure it would not be found out of the house, save upon the banners of sedition, or as the watch-words of rebellion.

That Roman catholics should finally succeed in their emancipation had long fince been decided when the house had allowed them means of acquiring property; it was impossible to imagine that men should possess property without complete liberty; and what reason was there to delay that liberty?—The popery laws had their origin in the weakness of the country; the strength of Ireland, had overgrown them; the protestants were heretofore but a colony, and could not exercise dominion without buying the protection of England; the price of that protection had been their own liberty—whilft for the lands the protestants poffeffed, there were still living the former poffeffors, whilst protestant and catholic knew each other only as enemies—these laws were not only pardonable but necessary; but the bitterness of animosity had gradually declined—the protestant garrison walked abroad and converfed with the Irish nation-they became friendly and united—the protestant felt that a merely barren inheritance in an impoverished country was not an object of ambition, and as the horrors of popery decayed, English domination became more irksome to him. From the moment he felt the pride of political independence, he faw and acknowledged the necessity of catholic emancipation—all the great attainments of Irish freedom had ushered in the period of Irish union. By the present bill catholics were not admitted to the constitution—wealth did not obtain its due proportion of power; but there was an attempt to bribe the beggary of the nation against their natural protectors, the aristocracy. Why was the lower order in the state so numerous, but that by a regular gradation of rank and power the intermediate orders might be able best to preserve those below

below them by submission to those above?—This was the chain of obedience and protection which formed civil society; and yet by this bill the rabble (an order hardly acknowledged by the constitution) was courted, and the natural leaders of those men were slighted, as unfit objects for the liberality of the legislature. Was this intended to buy off the union which has lately appeared amongst the rabble? It was a vain and useless attempt, for to-morrow their land-lords could form again that union by their influences.

In this conduct he faw the fuccess of republican principles—those principles which Paine inculcated and every honest man abhors—by taking from wealth its title to power, those principles were effected; for this was the leading feature of those seditious writings. Why was there in any country an aristocracy, but because wealth will naturally attract power, and that power must either act in the state, (in which case it acts to National advantage) or it must act out of the state, and in that case operate to its destruction. In France, wealth is excluded from power-yet in France wealth was now omnipotent; that wretch, who stood detested by every honest man, who had dyed his hands in the blood of his king and his kinfman, to whose destruction vengeance seemed to loiter and retard the universal wishes of mankind, had found, though wealth was nominally excluded, that wealth was effectually power; and though his property weighs not apparently in the state, it has made him omnipotent in that miserable country. While this example was before our eyes, we should not adopt the fatal policy of disunion, for wherever protestants and catholics were inimical, republicans rejoiced; when catholic, in the violence of dispute last summer seemed farthest from their wishes republicans rejoiced; when protestants seemed inclined to concessions what was the language of the people of the North on that occasion?—Infult, faid they to catholics—infult

—demand—infift—or we defert you; for well they know that when protestants and catholics are united,

their objects must fail.

Mr. Knox then infifted that all apprehensions from catholic power must be unfounded; the moment they were members of the constitution, their union which now appeared formidable, would disfolve for want of a common object, they would then be interested in the same measures with protestants, and be no longer anxious for separate views; the admission of a number (which could never be more than ten or treenty) of them into parliament, would fecure the establish-ment by the certainty of detaching so many men of education and property, from an interest hostile to that establishment; none but such men could be chosen, and the whole body of the people would be thus mutually attached. He was not so vain as to hope that he could remove every doubt or prejudice upon this subject; they were in many too deeply rooted for his efforts, but he thought it his duty; to endeavour by conciliating all men to fave this country from the arms of an hostile nation, and from her fentiments more deadly than her arms; he therefore would move, that Roman catholics should be permitted to hold feats in parliament.

Mr. J. M. Majon faid, that no man had a more fincere regard for Roman catholics than he had;—he had been their friend when they had very few in that house, and he must bear testimony to their character by saying, that never was there a set of men more oppressed and more loyal—he knew them attached to the constitution and loyal to the sovereign;—but though he must say this he could not help being surprized at what had sallen from the last speaker;—in his whole speech he seemed to forget that we had a church establishment, and that this establishment was intimately connected with the constitution?—and surely Roman catholics could not wish well to it. He

could

could not conceive what was meant by admitting the Roman catholics to a participation of the conflictation—while they were the majority they must have the whole, if any; they could not call it a share of power, but a surrender of dominion.

Hon. Denis Browns rose to order—there was no question before the house—but to set the right hon. gentlemen right he would just say, that in all the civil wars of Ireland, from Elizabeth to James II. he desied any man to shew that there was any contention for religious opinions, or any object but civil rights.

The bill was then read a fecond time, and on the

question for committal,

The Provost said, as to the clause of the bill respecting the University, he should give the house very ·little trouble upon that point; he was fure there would be no difference of opinion-every man must rejoice at any thing which would tend to the diffipation of prejudices—and if in what he was going to fay, he could effect the abolition of any one prejudice, he should consider it the happiest moment of his life. The reftraints upon Roman catholics had originated from the necessity of opposing a combination of two very formidable powers—the pretenders to his majesty's throne, and the bishops of Rome; connected and dependent on this combination were certain very dangerous opinions and doctrines hostile to a free conflitution; on one fide indefeafible hereditary right and non-refistance—on the other the Bope's infallibility, his unlimited power of absolution from oaths, from fin, and the doctrine that faith was not to be kept with heretics; these, he was happy to say, were doctrines at this day not only univerfally reprobated but utterly abjured. They could no longer exist, for the limits of the power of the king, and the obedience of the fubject were now perfectly defined and fettled: the claims of the abdicated family no longer exist; the

family itself was hardly the shadow of a name; the temporal power of the Pope was annihiliated and difclaimed, and his spiritual dominion was at this moment infufficient for the discipline of the Roman catholic church. Protestants should not therefore be any longer jealous or fulpicious, when the causes of jealoufy and fuspicion were completely removed; the Roman catholics had for a century been uniformly Joyal and peaceable—they had done nothing under all the restraints laid upon them to disturb the established government; and furely this conduct deserved fome return? And here he begged leave to quote the fentiments of a man, who had, in his opinion, written the most just, candid, fair and temperate work he ever read—an history of England; the author was a Dr. Somerville, and he believed a differer; the words were, that " though James II. kept up a confiderable correspondence, and had affurance of affiftance from many persons in England, yet amongst all his papers there never appeared any offer of support or invitation (after the articles of Limerick had been figned) to the abdicated monarch from the Romancatholics of Iteland, who had done so much in his caple."

Perhaps he was partial to this author from its being exactly his own opinion; for during fifty years experience that he himself had had of the confidence of those in the government of affairs in this kingdom, he never heard of any rising or intended rising amongst those people; for the excesses of the lower orders he did not consider as insurrection. Lord Chestersield, when he came over here as Lord Lieutenant, was much prejudiced by what he had heard in England of Roman catholics; but when he came to converse with, and to observe them, he changed his opinion. The commons, on the alarm of a rebellion actually existing in England, wished to strengthen the hands of government by violent measures against Roman catholics; they were opposed

[Here the right hon, gentleman finding himself unable any longer to offer his sentiments to the house, was included with permission to speak sitting.]

He would now consider the expediency of the mea-

fure:

He then took an historial review of the subject, infisting that all the misfortunes of this country had arifen from the disunion of its inhabitants; that as soon
as their nation had become united, all the great objects of liberty were attained; and that the catholic
emancipation had always been the earnest of Irish liberty. To prevent the influx of small freeholders,
and any disparity between protestants and catholics
he would wish that rol. freeholds were made indispensible to voters of any persuasion:—And he concluded a very long speech with these words—

Let us not be like the churlish eldest son mentioned in Scripture, who resused to enter his father's house, because his younger brother was received into favour: let us rather consider our gracious sovereign as speaking to us in the words of that benevolent father—" Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine; but this thy brother was dead and is alive,

was loft and is found."

Mr. Forbes would not have spoken, as a majority of the house appeared to have been favourable to the principle of the bill, but that he thought it the duty of every man in the habits of engaging in debate to deliver his opinion on a measure fo momentous as the prefent. Much, it was faid, had been granted to the catholics within these thirteen years he subscribed to this: affertion, and therefore it was that he thought more should be granted to them; first because none of the evils fo emphatically predicted as confequences of that indulgence had followed. He well remembered the declarations into which the extreme zeal of gentlemen in that house had betrayed them in the year 1778, and with what confidence it was afferted, that by enabling the catholic to purchase real property. parliament in effect furrendered every thing that was dear to a protestant. Secondly, because the principle established by the act of 1778 and 1782, of engaging the inhabitants of all defcriptions and perfuafions in one common interest, had been productive of such beneficial consequences to the country, that it became incumbent on the house as a matter of duty and policy, to extend as much as possible the operation of that principle. Thirdly, because having already enabled them to acquire real property, and to practice at the bar, we should admit them to a participation of that influence in the government of their country, to which by the constitution that species of property entitles them, and eminent talents in fuch a leading profession naturally aspire; if some vent is not given to the ambition inseparable from juch fituations, if it has not fome subject on which it may repose, some object, by which its views may be terminated, this combination of wealth and talents will acquire an irregular and powerful authority. which must infallibly operate against the peace, credit and stability of every government. Though the deprivation of the elective franchife could not be justified;

justified; yet certainly better arguments could be urged in its support at the period, in which it first

by the acts of Anne, catholics had been disabled com granting or accepting of freeholds; the principle he legislature then fought to establish was, that caholics should not possess real property; the act of George I. therefore, which deprived them only of that, which was an appendage of what it was deter-mined they should not possess, was not then so rigorous as the continuance of it must prove at this period, when those acts of Anne are repealed. But it may be objected, he faid, first, that his argument tends to thew the necessity of admitting the catholics into a participation of every privilege of the constitution. In answer to this, he should observe, that, notwithstanding the bill conferred important and substantial benefits on the catholics, yet he should have confidered the right hon, gentleman, who introduced it, as a wifer politician, and an abler statesman, had he granted the whole extent of the prayer of the catholic petition; and he would have acted io in a fimilar fituation, and declared his intention to fupport the motion of a learned gentleman (Mr. Knox) for a free communication of privilege. Next it may be urged, that he has not answered the objection to extending to the catholic the elective franchise under a qualification to low as forty shillings. It was his with that no freeholder of that description should be permitted to vote, but fo long as a protestant forty shilling freeholder was suffered to be an elector. If a catholic, having a freehold of equal value, had not the same privilege, the principle of the bill, which was union and coalition, was falfified, and under a professed intention of incorporation, a very considerable portion of three millions of people would be excluded. What is the evil which the bill purports to remedy?-That catholics and protestants, inhabiting Dd

biting the fame island, and subjects of the same king, are a distinct people, and how do the friends to the high qualification of twenty pounds propose to unite them, by maintaining in a great measure the old and invidious distinction? for the cause of the distinction is a certain penal law, and fome gentlemen profess to remove this cause by continuing the greatest part of that law on the statute-book. He expressed an earnest hope that the parliament of Ireland would not on this fubject prove itself so much inferior to the rest of Europe in liberality and information, as to be attached to a fystem of penal laws against religion. If any gentleman could prove, that such laws ever produced any falutary effect, or that any legislature ever attained by fuch means its professed object, (unless it was so weak or so wicked as to be intent on the destruction of extermination of its own subjects) he would retract his opinion. In Ireland he asked if those laws had attained their object? It must be anfwered, they had not; they had not produced an uniformity of worship, for the number of the catholics amounted at this day to three millions; they had not contributed to promote the prosperity of the country; on the contrary, it had advanced in proportion to their relaxation. Never were those laws more justly characterized than by lord Camden, who declared them to be an heap of contradiction and abfurdity, and to have contributed much to the corruption of the morals of the people of Ireland. King William, it was faid, was a friend to this system; the contrary was the fact; he reprobated it, and often declared it as his opinion; that the people were to be attached to his government by conciliation, not penalty; that the lituation of the difaffected in Ireland was different from that of persons of a similar description in England; in the former country their offences had been amply and adequately punished by a considerable rioning bid of the viley by the vice ventileation

confiscation of property, a circumstance which had

not obtained in the latter.

Mr. Forbes then adverted to the means which ought to be purfued in the present situation of Ireland, and observed that a protestant legislator would endeayour to effect the union at this period fo desirable, by adopting fuch a fystem of policy, as might induce fimilar habits of thinking among all the people of this kingdom; but fuch habits can never originate from laws, establishing a contrariety of interests, and an inequality of privilege between the subjects of the fame government. Let us, he faid, fend the protestant and catholic to the hustings at elections on: equal terms; when they are accustomed to agree in: the disposal of the most important of their temporal concerns, it is not probable that they will separate on account of any difference of opinion respecting theological doctrines. Mr. Forbes objected to the fuggested limitation of franchise to twenty pounds, as: fuch a measure argued a want of confidence in the. catholics. And respecting those who distrusted the catholics after they had taken every test, which political jealonly could devise, after a conduct so irreprehenfible during a century, he expressed his apprehensions of the impracticability of inspiring such gentlemen with confidence in their brethren of, that perfuafion. If even the behaviour of the catholics fince, the Revolution had been subject to exceptions, as was contended by one gentleman, he appealed to the candour and judgment of the house, whether it was fair to argue, that what before happened under certain circumstances, would probably occur under others totally different; that the conduct of the catholics would be the same when liberated, as when oppressed; and that the religious animofities excited by the penal laws would continue after these laws ceased to exist. But if on the contrary the catholics under that irritation of mind; naturally created by a confifcation Dd 2

cation of their property, and the infliction of a multiplicity of penalties by the legislature, under the encouragement to disaffection held out to them by the old government of France, under the influence of a ftrong attachment to the house of Stuart, under the powerful patronage of the court of Rome, under a deprivation of civil as well as political liberty, preferved their fidelity to government inviolate for thefe last hundred years, can it be urged with any appearance of reason or argument that those people, when all those circumstances, which could have prompted them to acts of disloyalty, cease to exist, will endeayour to subvert a free constitution at the moment of their admission to a full participation of its benefits, and to which, while excluded from those benefits, they adhered. He observed, respecting the confiscation of property, though it unavoidably must have irritated the minds of the catholics at the period in which it occurred, yet he confidered fach a meafore amply justified by the policy and practile of every government after a Revolution, and in Ireland absolutely necessary. The entered into a history of the origin of the deprivation of the elective franchife, and obletved that the friends to that measure must rely for its justification on some other principle than the delinquency of the catholics; as the most decided and unfulpected teltimonies of their good conduct at that period could be adduced.

In the correspondence of king James the second, after the Revolution, lately published, it appears, that he placed not the least reliance on, or entertained any expectation of affishance from the frish, at the same time that he expressed a well-sounded hope of support in Great Britain; a correspondence which he held with persons of the most exalted rank and station in the court of king William; and Mr. Forbes asked, are the descendants of such persons to enjoy distinctions and honours in the sister kingdom, while

while the posterity of the unoffending catholic in Ireland are to be denied the common privilege of a free constitution.

In the year 1762, the persons principally connected with the government of this kingdom, declared in one of the houses of parliament, that after the most careful inspection of the papers of Murray, Secretary to the Pretender, during the last rebellion in Scotland, the least trace could not be discovered of any inhabitant of Ireland being concerned in promoting the object of that rebellion, or effectuating the plans of the Pretender, and this declaration we find corroborated by all the communications of lord Chesterfield, the chief governor of Ireland, in the year 1745 with the English administration; who, though he gave the affent to the law confirming the deprivation of the elective franchife, reprobates in most unequivocal terms the impolicy and rigour of the popery-laws, and laments the fpirit of intolerence which at that period prevailed in the Irish parliament. Mr. Forbes next confidered, whether the law against the elective franchise was dictated by any necessity, and stated from histories of unquestionable authority, that when king James fummoned a parliament in Ireland after his abdication, the number of catholic freeholders in this kingdom was so very limited, as not to exceed in some counties ten. After the Revolution, real property belonging to catholics, to the amount of one million and an half was forfeited, and the acts of Anne disabled any person of that religion from acquiring a freehold, which acts it was worthy of observation, were passed before the catholics were deprived of the elective franchife. From these circumstances, he said, he was warranted to infer, that this measure did not proceed from necessity, but originated either in the spirit of monopoly or the influence of prejudice. This act has been styled by some a part of the constitution to which

which we ought pertinaciously to adhere; with as much reason and argument, might it be contended that martial law, which obtained during the civil war, or the dependency of the judges, (because king William confidered himself by the critical and peculiar fituation of England obliged to reject a bill for rendering the judges independent,) or the suspension of the habeas-corpus act; because such a law was esteemed expedient in England, during the exiftence of the rebellion in 1745, was part of the constitution. These were all temporary suspensions of an undeniable right, and justified only by the necessity of the times; when that necessity ceased, as he should presently shew respecting the act in question, it had; this act no more than those he had stated should any longer remain on the statute-book. The petition of the catholics to the king had been animadverted on, he thought feverely and unjustly. the fecond article of the treaty of Limerick, the estates of freehold and inheritance of persons of certain descriptions in five counties were to be restored to them together with all the rights, titles, interests, privileges, and immunities, which they held and enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. those articles were figned by the lords justices, ratified by king William, and some of them, and the tecond article among the rest, received a fanction from parliament; and the offence of the catholics was a statement that as part of the people of their religion were reftored by that article to their properties, together with all rights, privileges, &c. enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. and as the elective franchife was one of those rights, which they then possessed, that the act depriving catholics univerfally of their franchife was an infringement of that treaty; tho' Mr. Forbes was free to confess that neither the articles themselves nor any degree of fanction they may have received from parliament in the reign of king William, could reftrain a fucceeding parliament from paffing

passing the act in question; yet he should ever maintain that it was inconsistent with the honour and justice of parliament to pass any law on the subject of the elective franchise, without making an exception in favour of those, who were the objects of the second article, unless the catholics after the surrender had forseited their title to the benefit of this article by

some new act of delinquency.

He adverted next to some of the arguments of a learned m ember (Dr. Duigenan) on a former debate on this subject, who, tho' actuated by the best motives. as Mr. Forbes was confident, was certainly not fupported by historical fact in some of his observations, in order to prove the disaffection of the catholics after the furrender the learned member stated; that tho' offers were made to them by government and General Ginkle, to remain at home in pursuit of their different occupations, or to enlift, those offers almost to a man were rejected; whereas if the learned member had purfued his own authority (Harris) one page beyond his quotation, he must have found that nineteen Irish regiments fubmitted, and were taken into the pay of the English army. As to the learned member's other objection to the petition, for stiling those articles a treaty, which he alledges was a capitulation agreed on from ill-judged and unleasonable mercy, as the befieged were but a fet of ragamuffins enclosed, like rats in a trap, from whence they had no possibility of escaping, nor could have made a long or effectual refiftance. Had the hon. gentleman reforted to Leland, the most impartial historian of those transactions, the fact must have appeared to him totally different; for Leland expressly fays, that the feafon was far advanced. the continuance of the fiege dangerous, and the event precarious; and respecting the incapacity of the befieged to make a long refiftance Mr. Forbes referred to these words of Harris " the furrender happened at a favourable conjuncture; a fleet fent by France to relieve

felieve Limerick, arrived in Dingle-bay a day or two after the articles were ligned, conflitting of 18 lhips of war, 6 fire thips, 20 great vellels of burden, 10,000 flands of arms and 3000 men," a fuccour, which according to Leland they had reason to expect. Under all these circumstances, he thought it could not be demed, that the catholics were julified in stating in their petition, that the king and the country received a valuable consideration for any privileges secured by

the articles to that body of people.

Mr. Forbes lamented that the learned member appeared, inflead of attending the public mind in its progress on this subject, by a species of negative induffry to have given his own mind fuch a retrograde direction, that the principles he avowed and the apprehensions he expressed relative to the effects of this meanire were but ill adapted to the lituation of this country and the temper of this affembly at prefent; and would have fuited better the house of commons, which fat foon after the revolution, whole terrors and prejudices respecting catholics were so great as to induce them with much gravity to entertain a petition of the protestant coal porters of Dublin, stating that Darby Ryan, a notorious papilt, carried on the bulihels of a coal porter, much to their injury and the danger of the protestant interests; and this petition was with great folemnity referred to the grand committee of grievances. The fame house of commons made an order that no papilt was to be admitted into the gallery of the house; were that order enforced this night we must have employed a serieant at arms, who was either an expert phyliognomial or a protound theologian.

Mr. Forbes next proceeded to confider the confequences of excluding a confiderable portion of the catholics by a limitation of franchife to twenty pounds. The only tendency of such a measure must be, he laid, to embody excluded catholics for the purpose of destroy-

ing the limitation. An hon, baronet, (Sir Lawrence Parsons) had laid down a position, to the truth of which he subscribed without hesitation, the he denied his inference; namely that the more points the catholics had to gain, the more inducements they had to enter into combinations; but he differed from him in the application of this polition; for Mr. Forbes faid, that to far from supporting his proposition of limitation of franchile, he confidered that the argument of the hon, baronet tended to prove the necessity elther of a total incorporation or exclusion; but the truth of the polition could not be controverted, therefore he should endeavour to leave the catholics as few points to gain as possible. Nothing was so dangerous in a state as an unequal distribution of constitutional privilege; the most enlightened writers on the ancient government of France attributed the delpotifm. under which the people of that country groaned, while England, fprung from the same Northern Hive, wasfree to this circumftance, and to this caule, he faid, we may attribute the inflammation of the minds of the people of that country, whose oppression provoked them to frenzy, and precipitated them into measures, which have effected the extinction of all the privileged orders, and constituted authorities in that country. Forbes exhorted the house to embrace the opportunity of attaching the catholic to the constitution and government, which the reduced fituation of every power to which he was habituated to look up and respect, atforded. He would for argument lake, suppose that a civil commotion should arise in England; the he trusted that there was not cause to apprehend such an event, yet as Europe was confessedly pregnant with some great political event, a wife legislator would take every precaution. If the catholics were not compleatly affimilated with protestants in respect to political advantages, it required not much lagacity to forelee in cale of ferious disturbances in Great Britain, theestectsoffuch an inequality of condition what the parties in Great Britain

would be bidding at each other on the fubject of catholic emancipation; whereas if we now attach that description of people to government, and unite them with the protestants, the whole people of Ireland might act as a great body to support the balance of power in the empire against contending factions, might possibly prevent them from proceeding to extremies, or at least speedily tranquillize them. It should also be considered, by those who opposed this measure, and yet were deeply interested in the profperity of Ireland, that nothing was more unlike than the fituation of Europe and America, now, from what it was when the popery laws were first enacted: In America, the free exercise of the catholic religion was not incompatible with the full enjoyment of political liberty; when the agitation, which at prefent prevails in Europe, had subsided, there was every reason to expect that the contention between governments and their fubjects would terminate in the establishment of free constitutions in the form of limited monarchies; and an extension of political privileges to persons of all religions. Such an event, as well as the encreasing prosperity of America, must operate as a most powerful inducement to the catholics of this kingdom to emigrate; and an enlightened legislature would provide against fuch powerful attractions, by fecuring a decided preference on the comparison of the condition of catholics in Ireland and in other countries.

Mr. Forbes observed, that some gentlemen had said, the catholics were premature in their application—the time will come when they can be gratified with satisfaction to all parties. Mr. Forbes asked, how long the catholics have to wait? when were their opponents to overcome their prejudices? what was the term and nature of catholic probation? This no gentleman had defined.—Suppose in this awful and anxious interval, the catholic, impelled by the prevailing propensity of the times for enquiring into the nature

nature and relations between the governors and governed, should examine into our right of excluding him from the elective franchife, how could we justify it, placing it, for argument's fake, even on as strong a foundation as we can, that of the acts of Anne, to which at best though not very strong, he thought this act is not entitled. Those popery laws were enacted against catholics, not merely because they were catholics, but because catholics were jacobites; the family of the Stuarts were now extinct. the cause of the exclusion had ceased; therefore to continue these laws longer would in fact be to re-enact them. But it has been urged that a catholic enjoys as many privileges of the constitution. as a number of protestants; that he is in the possesfion of civil liberty, though not of political. He asked, whether in 1782 the protestant would have been contented with fuch a condition? whether he did not consider political so effential to the preservation of civil liberty, that he was determined to risk his life and fortune for the attainment of the former & what a facrifice had America made on the fame principle? and had the protestants a right to urge a doctrine and principles against their catholic brethren in such palpable contradiction to their own profesfions and their own conduct? It, has been argued, that if catholics are not capable of voting, they are not in a worse situation than many protestants, who are not electors—a clear distinction exists between the fituations of the two descriptions of men; if a protestant has interest to obtain his freedom in a corporation, or can raise by any means a sum sufficient to purchase a forty shilling freehold, he may be in possession of the elective franchise, not so with the catholic; the protestant is excluded by accident, the catholic by fomething next to an impossibility with a conscientious man, as he can only purchase his franchife by the facrifice of his eternal falvation.

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Mr. Forbes applied hunfelf to the argument principally infilted on by the friends to the limitation of sol. that the priefts would work on the fuperfittion and poverty of the lower class of people, in answer to this he observed, as it was notorious that all the priests in the kingdom, had taken the oath of alle. giance, this argument supposed that their teners will tified a dispensation of that eath; therefore he would examine whether fuch a doctrine ever universally pievailed among the Roman catholic dergy, and whether it obtained at this day, even in Ireland at a period when the clergy of that religion were confidered as the flaves of bigotry and superstition, so early as the reign of Elizabeth and James 1. He could affert from incontestible evidence of history that a confiderable party of the catholic clergy profesied and taught, with firmsels and vigious, in Repport of the government to which they had fwom allegiance, a civil obedience to the crown, hence in all the wars of Elizabeth feveral of the Romith profession were diffinguished in the fervice of the crown. The doctrine of the Pope's power to dispense with oaths of allegiance has been two centuries fince renounced and abjured by the principal catholic universities in Europe, which remunciation was in the year 1790, repleated by those universities, and has fince also been adpoted by public and foleran declarations of the catholic clergy in Great Britain and Ireland, an act affented to in the most explicit terms, by the present Pope in the year 1791. Mr. Forbes called on gentlemen, who availed themselves of this argument, to flate any politible advantage, which the priefts could propose to themselves by inciting the lower class of people to diffaffection to the established government. Had they any prospect of protection from their old and natural patrons;—the family of the Stuarts was no more, the power of the pope was to compleatly and notorioufly diffolved, that he should confider it as an infult on the understandings of his hearers were he to impute any authority to a character of fuch imbecility, who was at this moment like a mendicant friar, supplicating the protection of every protestant prince in Europe. From France the priefts could not any longer expect furport; the catholic clergy of this country abhorred the principles of the French, as much as that people deteffed every species of church establishment; tho' the French government might affirme a form different from that, which now prevailed, it was not probable that the prefent race would overcome their indisposition to the clergy. Under thele circumstances, the priefts must regard as their only protectors, the men of rank and property of their persuasion in this country; and he should endeavour to prove prefently, that it was not probable that men of that description would aid them in a scheme, which must terminate in the confusion of all property, and a system of indiscriminate depredation by the lower class of the community; neither was it probable that any body of men according to the prevailing opinions of this day, could be found to frapid or ablurd, as to erect another popula hier rchy after having refcued themselves from the oke of one, under which a great part of Europe had groaned for fo many centuries. When gentlemen affected to apprehend danger from the lower class of people, they reverted the order of things; it was an established maxim, that the fashion of opinions and habits defeended from the higher to the lower class in fociety; but according to the prefent mode of reasoning, a very inferior description of the people were to give the tone of fentiment and conduct to the whole of their perfusiion; he was confident that a little experience would prove that the bill would produce a contrary effect, that the tenant by its means would maintain a thore intrinate connection with his landlord, and as three-fourths of the landed property of the kingdom, were poffeffed by protestants, they would retain

tain an afcendancy. No circumstance can occur in this country to render the catholic freeholder fo unlike those of his perfuasion in other countries at this day, as not to prefer his temporal interests to the maintenance of any theological doctrines, respecting the fuperior orders of catholics the affertion that they in general were fuch bigots to their faith as to facrifice their most important interests in this world to the freculative tenets of their religion, could not be maintained by the hiftory of the latter periods of Europe. Experience has proved that men of all religions, who have a share in the property possessed by every community, will rally without diffunction round that property for its preservation. Even amidst the violent contentions, with which this kingdom was distracted in the last century, and which have been by many imputed to a religious origin, it is an undoubted fact, that persons of considerable fortune of the catholic perfuasion, entered with reluctance into a refistance to the then existing government, and not, till they were forced by that government for the purpole of enriching itself by forfeitures; these very men were found anxious to defift from a continuance of hostility, and disposed to frego the splendour of an establishment of their religion, in order to secure that property; and in contempt of the anathemas of the Pope embodying to attack his legate, but instead of exposing the fallacy and weakness of this argument, and endeavouring to prove that the apprehensions entertained from doctrines of faith, on which it was impossible the catholics could act, were groundless, hewould adduce one instance which must be conclusive; it was derived from the very fource or centre of popish superstition, and reforting to the court of Rome, establish from incontestible evidence, that even there the ambition of the temporal prince had prevailed over all spiritual considerations; he stated by authentic memorials, lately produced to the world, of the transactions With the State of the State of

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actions of the courts of Europe immediately precedthe revolution, it was evident that the Pope, actuated by refentment against Lewis XIV. on account of an invasion of his temporal authority, consented to the expulsion of James the II. from the throne of these kingdoms, and that the fucceffor to him, who filled the papal chair at the revolution, persevered in the fame fystem, tho' no monarchs ever facrificed more to the popish religion, than Lewis and James. Mr. Forbes concluded with declaring his decided approbation of the bill, in as much as it repealed laws the continuance of which could not be justified, and by its tendency to unite the inhabitants of this kingdom of all descriptions, must make the Irish, in a political fense, a people, and restore the country to its native energies.

Doctor Browne (of the College) entered into a long explanation of the articles of Limerick, and faid that those articles had not been infringed, and that the charge against parliament on that head was unfounded.—He objected not to the principle of the bill, though to fome of its clauses, he could not subscribe, he could not think of letting in such a numerous, ignorant, bigoted rabble as Roman catholic 40s. freeholders must be; he perfectly accorded with the idea of giving Roman catholics the benefit of education in the University, but thought it would be contrary to the oaths imposed by the University statutes, and contrary to the intention of the founders and benefactors of the University, to transfer to papifts any of the authority or emoluments which they had intended to promote the protestant religion.

Mr. Holmes said a few words, declaring his affent to the bill, and his opinion that the elective franchise should be restrained in all its parts.

Mr. Day agreed perfectly with the Provost, that that the ills of this country had arisen principally from the people of the country secluding themselves within different pales.

In confequence of these divisions, the Roman catholics of Ireland had long felt the legislation of the country only by firipes it inflicted. They had fuffered patiently, yet could not the filent eloquence of their fufferings forten the hearts of their countrymen, till Geo. III, ascended the throne of these kingdoms to bless every class of his subjects, and inturneed by real religion, had pointed out the partial repeal of this code. He was the first English monarch since the revolution who made relaxation a principle of this government-yet under him the protestant alcendancy had been preferved.

No man was more ftrongly attached to this afcendancy than he and inseparable from it it was connected with the flate but he could distinguish be tween the afcendancy and a flruggle for power and monopoly which enfurined itself in the altar of the church.—What was there in that monopoly that the houle should struggle for its existence? He was not a political fwindler who in 82 invited the catholics to unite with him in demanding a constitution, and in 93 would deny a fhare in the benefits of that conftitution. To coalefce with the catholics he thought was now necessary for the fafety of the state—nor was aught to be dreaded from that coalition. It was not the catholics who were to be dreaded, but those who turned the pulpit into a rollrum for propagating leditious principles those whose only grievance was monarely, and who made religion only an inferument to overturn it. How were then men to be guarded against? Only by throwing open the constitution to the catholics, who would, no doubt, be zealous to defend it against those levellers.

He exhorted the house to learn from America the wisdom of timely concession. America exhibited another good example, of equal liberty, and growing happinels, where popery is not only tolerated, but effablished by law. No danger was to be feared, that by granting these privileges to the catholics, the government of this country would cease to the protestant—"Twas our connection with Britain which made the island protestant, and it is that which will keep

it so while that connection is cherished.

He then alluded to Mr. Byrne's letter, which, he said, at least must be called highly indiscreet, and calculated to disturb the quiet of the country. It was censurable as it promoted an appeal to an affembly of such a kind as if frequently recurred to, or indulged, would reduce the authority of that house, and render them nothing more than the register of their own edicts.

He declared himself friendly to a total emancipation; he would not leave a seminal principle of discontent existing, from which mischief and discord might spring, he would place his catholic fellow subjects on the same high ground as their protestant brethern; yet he consessed he would have been better pleased had the change begun earlier, that it might

have proceeded gradually.

It had been asked by some hon, gentlemen, whether the minister knew that the catholics would be contented with this bill. He could say, from very respectable authority, that they would; that they felt very deep gratitude for the benefits it conferred, and that they would express that gratitude in addresses on the subject: if any thing yet remained which restricted their liberty, they hoped it would dissipate before the warm rays of growing liberality. As to the prejudices of papists, of which so much had been said, they were fast decreasing, and if popery should go down for twenty years more, as it did the last twenty years, there would remain little difference between them and protestants, but in name.

He concluded by declaring, that the bill had his hearty correserence, as being happily calculated to give

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who

give general content, to establish peace and unanimity, to call forth the energies of the nation, and to give stability to the government of the country. He embraced it as the magna charta of the catholics

of Ireland, and a pledge of holy fraternity.

Mr. Brooke (Donegal) faid no man felt a more ardent defire to confer upon Roman catholics every benefit confistent with the security of the protestant establishment: This was not a sentiment lately adopted by him-he had manifested it so early as 1788.—He was farther induced to conciliate the Roman catholics because it was his majesty's recommendation, and for that recommendation he had the highest respect; he would therefore vote for the bill, but he hoped it would not extend to forty-shilling freeholders the right of voting-if it should, he believed from the multitude that would be let in, very few gentlemen of landed property would be mad enough to canvas a county, or to stand an election; and excluding men of landed property from parliament would not, in his opinion, be a very advantageous reform. It had been faid that power being gradually imparted to Roman catholics, it could not for feveral years to come operate with any very great force. He hoped the Roman catholics would use their power with moderation, but he was an unwife legislator who did not guard against possibilities, and a worse who did not guard against consequences.

Mr. R. Sheridan—I ratherrife to avoidfilence than to feek attention—it is a fubject on which I do not like to expatiate-my judgment condemns what my heart would grant .- I have endeavoured to inform my mind upon this subject, and I am determined to act as a member of parliament should do, with unbiaffed coolness and inflexible honesty: and though, fir, I have often heard the words " three millions of people," echoed through this house, I hope we will not forget the one million of protestants

who hold their privileges by the same right that our sovereign wears his crown, or that we whom they have delegated to maintain these rights assemble

here in parliament.

It has been faid, fir, that the king has recommended this bill to us—I have ever confidered that the constitution has wifely placed between the throne and the parliament responsible ministers, who are answerable for the measures they propose; upon this idea depends all freedom of speech in parliament, and therefore I will consider the speech of

the minister using his majesty's name,

A gentleman has quoted a part of his majesty's coronation oath. By the coronation oath, established at that which heretofore was called the glorious revolution, his majesty swears that he will to the utmost of his power maintain and preserve the protestant religion by law established; and whatever Mr. Pitt, or his necessary man, Mr. Dundas, may put into the speech in favour of Roman catholics, it must have this extent, so far as the same is compatible with the safety of the protestant establishmentno more: In this sense I am ready to embrace the Roman catholics: But does not this bill endanger the protestant interest? It does-if you give to three times their number the elective franchife, they must be overwhelmed. What will then avail the barrier you think you are now erecting, by denying to them the representative right? They will tell you 'tis abfurd to fay they may be electors, but they may not be representatives; that they are competent to delegate, but incompetent to execute; and therefore by what you grant render what you withhold infecure! Sir, if they cannot fit in parliament themfelves, they will find equivocating, accomodating protestants, worse than papists, to represent them.

Perhaps, fir, I shall not live to see the utter abolition of the protestant ascendancy, tho' that gloriousestablishment which came in with the revolution, to which England owes her liberty and her prosperity, which is congenial to and blended with our constitution will not, I fear, long survive; however fir, I never will give a vote injurious to it; and I call upon this house, in the name of the protestant electors who fent us here, not do desert their interest.

Mr. Hobart—There being so little difference upon the principle of the bill, and indeed no objection to going into a committee upon it, I should not have thought it necessary to have troubled the house with a single word were it not for what fell

from the hon, gentlemen who fpoke laft.

That hon, gentleman has truly stated that no man has a right to argue that a subject debated in this house is supposed to be influenced by the command of his majesty; his majesty in his good pleasure may recommend a subject to the consideration of parliament—parliament in their duty and affection will give the most respectful and attentive consideration to what his majesty recommends to their notice;—but when the measure comes before parliament in the shape of a bill, it is then the measure of the member who introduces it, and his majesty's name is no longer to be used in its support; and therefore the gentleman who spoke early in the debate was not justified in faying this bill was by his majesty's command.

I agree also with the hon, gentleman, that his majesty has recommended to us the care of the protestant establishment, and that it is our duty to guard it from injury; and therefore, fir, the question is, how far can we go in behalf of the Roman catholics without shaking the security of the protestant establishment?—On this question, fir, I have consulted with some of the most experienced and best informed men in this country, and it did appear to them, that the measure now offered would give essectual relief to the Roman catholics, with-

out shaking the protestant establishment: the Roman catholics themselves feel it so: and I am convinced it will not injure the protestant establishment. Though I differ from some gentlemen, for whom I entertain the highest regard, I know that what we are doing will essentially serve the country: it will conciliate the Romancatholics—it will cement a common union of interest and affection amongst his majesty's subjects—and enable this country to repel all her enemies.

He was ashamed to have troubled the house so long, as there had not appeared any difference of opinion on the principle of the bill.—He would make but a single observation more, a learned gentleman had said, why not accept the tests which the Roman catholics offered themselves? For that very reason, because they freely offered to take tests, he thought it would be unjust and unnecessary to im-

pole them.

Mr. B. Ponfonby begged leave to take up the attention of the house a few moments.—He said he felt rather hurt in finding himself obliged to express fentiments different from those other gentlemen, for whom he entertained the highest respect, had expressed before him. He would however, he said, not consider the bill in the same sense other gentlemen had done. They consider it only as far as it will tend to affect the political and focial interests of this country: He thought it every man's duty to come forward and take it in another view - as it refpects our connection with Great Britair-That every member in the house was under a necessity of admitting that that connection must be materially affected by such concessions. And why? It will throw the whole catholic interest on one side: It will drive us into direct opposition to England-may not catholics be admitted in England as well as in Ireland?— Why are they not?—The natural and necessary consequence will be, it will drive every man having

an interest in the church into the arms of administration. It will subject him to government influence. Will not the catholic then, when admitted to the elective franchise and to a share in the legis-

lature, complain of influence?

Mr. Geo. Ponsonby-Sir, it will be acknowledged I enter with reluctance on a fubject, on which I would avoid faying any thing-It was for this reason I delayed declaring my fentiments, after what I have already faid upon the present question, until I had first heard fo many other gentlemen explain themselves. fully on this very important business, I am therefore, fir, anxious that every gentleman in the house fhould be convinced by what I have to offer, as far as I can flatter myself with being able to effect-If I err in judgment I can fay it is an error of the understanding, not of the heart. As to that body of men who are the subject of the bill, no one can have a higher opinion of their merits than I have; yet I would not wish to be thought intriguing by popularity. I wish to give my thoughts freely, without disguise or reserve, to see the same mode pursued by those who have spoken before me. Was I the person who voted against the catholic bill? No. Was I the one who ever objected to our catholic brethren's participating of those rights to which I am convinced every man in this house does in his soul believe them fairly entitled? No. I would rejoice to see that no distinctions were known in Ireland, but that of a good or bad citizen: But at the fame time I utterly disavow giving any confent to the bill as it tands.

The bill in its present form, and the patrons of the bill propose to give all rights whatsoever civil and militaty, to the catholic; to put him in all respects on the same footing with the protestant.

Now, fir, I say that that bill itself is the most abfurd, the most unjustifiable, the most unconstitutional bill, ever yet brought into this house. It is, I say and will maintain, the greatest nuisance ever brought

into parliament.

It is, fir, utterly impossible, it is inconsistent with reason to give the great body of the inhabitants of any country under any reasonable government any portion of political power—do you propose to give to three-fourths of your people the power of your house of commons, that power without whose aid your sovereign can not undertake a war, or if he does, will undertake it in vain, for who will furnish him with supplies? that power which is the grand machine that directs the motion of the whole nation.

Will the catholic gentleman, a man of genius, of knowledge and information, when he fees the meanest man in the state, possessed of every privilege he himself has; will he, think you rest his claims here, or will he acquiesce in your decision? No,-And this will be the consequence, if you give the catholic a right of suffrage, and deny him the right of representation.-When you distribute thus partially, the more eagerly will every man demand what he thinks is still due to him. When, therefore, you give the catholic this power of fuffrage, will you persuade him to be content, and to ask no more? You will by giving only a part, confirm him in the belief that he has a right to more; and what still remains will have in his eyes ten times more value than its intrinsic worth. What was it first formed those separate and distinct interests of protestants and catholics? Not virtue nor wisdom. It was political jealoufy, and political iniquity. It may be fairly affirmed there were no protestants before the time of Henry the 8th. At the conquest the conquerors and the conquered were of the fame perfuafion as to religion.

In the reign of Charles the first, the old and new Irish formed a complete confederacy, the revolution

formed

formed a separation, and confirmed the power of the protestant, in opposition to that of the catholic. It was the policy of England, which, in order to check and govern one party by another, that made separate interests. It was the policy of England, watchful of that division, that forbid catholics and protestants to intermarry. It was the same policy that forbid them to be educated together; in short to participate in the same common rights, and thus split the same country into two distinct nations.—Did this system answer its purpose? No. Did the steps taken to render this separation essectual produce the salutary consequences intended by it? By no means.

What is the confequences of this pernicious policy at this day? You are not fure the catholic mind is prepared to receive qualifications now, which you are convinced they have a right to obtain; although as a religion it is as good as any other. - For what influence the court of Rome everhad in this country. is now no more; the well known attachment the people of Ireland had to the Swart family, has ceafed with its object.-He then produced the refolutions published by the catholics, and dwelt particularly on the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 6th :- and on reading the 2d article, he observed on it, that the man who holds that article, is as good a protestant as any man that fat in that house; as good a moral and political man as any subject his majesty has. He then read that article, which he called the engine, the church had fet up to batter down all legal attachment of fubjects to their fovereign, the closest ties of men in fociety. The fentiments, fir, contained in these resolutions, are those of true and sound christianity, of benevolence, of humanity. Let no man tell me that a person capable of breathing such liberal fentiments, can ever be a bad christian, a bad fubject, or a bad man, It is impossible, fir. were

were their clergy disposed, (which I am sure would not be the case) to exercise their spiritual power over the laity, or their indulgencies to the absolving them from their allegiance to their sovereign, it would be in vain—they could effect nothing, either at this, or even at any suture period. In the latter case, their attachment to the house of Stuart, would render any such attempt abortive; in the latter, their interest would attach them to the established government; and administration would be glad by any favours to attach them to itself: But rest assured, that this would be so far, notwithstanding, from forming a collision between that body and administration, in opposition to you, that the catholic would ever look up for any favour, any object he had in

view, not to the king, but to you.

Was it then raising the credit of parliament to support the penal laws, to refuse catholic emancipation? Ah! now gentlemen on both fides, you find yourselves degraded, sunk, so degraded as to lose your fensibility and become callous to your own turpitude. - You cannot produce a fingle Irish gentleman who concerted with you on the measure, fo as to be able to reconcile your conduct to yourselves as the refult of cool and impartial deliberations. But you can't be too forward in your own opinion; for those who renounce all sense of shame know no limits either of modesty or discretion. - Twas wisely done, you think, to tell the catholic he was to look to the crown, not to this house for his emancipation, for the right of civil fociety-Reflect but for a moment, and you will perceive the folly, the abfurdity of leaving it in the power of administration to make a merit of granting those favours that ought to proceed from you. Let that filly bill be kicked out of the house. Let another be brought in that may not be a difgrace to your statute books, wife and comprehensive in its object-Prove yourselves

men of understanding, and ready to embrace your catholic brethren: affociate them to yourselves; leave them nothing to wish; and if ever you should hereafter think you had any reason to repent of your indulgence, let them have nothing to answer .-- You will be told there is risque in giving a participation of power;—that is dangerous. If you had been dealt with candidly, you had rather grant unfolicited, than yield with apparent reluctance—no man can fay he is more nearly interested in the politics of this country than I am-men part at times unwillingly with power; and this is one of those times: but it is the effect of prejudice, not of reason or justice. Think of Irish union, think of Irish gratitude---Believe me, they will lose all recollection of former divisions and the causes of those divisions; I pledge myfelf and declare on my honour I had not connexion, the flightest communication with any catholic ever in respect to my political fentiments; nor had any catholic the smallest hint of my opinion of the present question before my coming this day into this house. But I know the character of Irishmen is tenderness of heart, and ardour of spirit---and it is on this principle I feel myself interested in their cause.

Mr. George Ogle got up, and with great agitation of mind, exclaimed against the bill and its principle, in toto. He said he was disinclined to the committal of that bill. That protestant ascendancy, he now saw, was only a mere phantom, because there was no honour in the protestants themselves. He desired the great characters to consider what they were about doing. Their conduct, he considered a mean, cringing, mode of electioneering. That as to his own, however he may be mistaken, he would act up to the principles of an honest man. In whatever light the world would consider his conduct, would resect disgrace on himself alone. He had no child tolament his father's depravity. I now ask you, do catholics

catholies thank you? I fay, no. Had the protestants of this country a constitution? No. It is all a job of the minister. As for himself, he knew nothing of bigotry; had nothing of persecution in his nature, and therefore he the more eafily reconciled it

to himself never to vote for that bill,

Right hon. David Latouche faid, that having before spoke a few words on the question then before the house, he would not at present take up the time of the house, had it not been for the language he had heard from some gentlemen-hoped he would be permitted to speak a few words more - he would be very brief. He fat thirty years in that house, he faid, and he thought conducted himself as independently of any faction or party as any other man in it. He had frequently voted for both parties, when he thought they were doing right-when wrong, he had voted against them. He had continual intercourse with Roman catholics, on account of his numerous tenantry of that perfuation. He had voted for a repeal of the penal laws-would do any thing for their support but begged leave to be understood-he never would vote for a Roman catholic's fitting in that house, nor for giving the elective franchife to a Roman catholic-and concluded with faying he was ready to give fo harsh a name to the conduct of other men, who shewed themselves fo forward in this business, as to call it misguided.

Hon. Col. Hutchinson, in a speech abounding with folid learning, and which from the elegance of the composition, the excellence of the subject, and the zeal of the speaker, did no less honour to his head and heart than to his judgment and taste, observed that if novelty could constitute the panegyric of a country, that the bill, which was the subject of that night's debate, presented a subject new in itself, and whose issue would be either the glory or the shame of that house. We have, sir, heard these walls re-echo with reiterated acclamations, not of exultation

exultation but reproach -when you drove many of his majesty's bravest and most faithful subjects to engage in foreign services. Are the protestants, fir, in mental powers superior to their catholic brethren? fuperior in attachment to their country?-Neither. -I know not what kind of liberty that was you had passed without their help. Those who have stated that fuch men have engaged in foreign fervices, are the very men who cannot defend their own houses without their affiltance. Read the history of Europe, you will find what they have been and what they are. Those are the men who crowded the ranks of your armies, filled your navy. What has been their reward? To be immediately condemned to flavery! Your catholic brother is the flave. You enjoy liberty by his labour. That was constantly the happy effect of their fignalizing themselves for you, and for your country. It were happy for catholics, if they could rest their claim on some firm ground. The wifest men of England and Iteland looked with indignation and abhorrence on the treatment they met with.

At first he had no idea that the catholic franchise was necessary to their emancipation.—He now thought far otherwise.-The clergy, he said, prefided too much on the laity, and the hierarchy, on the whole, religion has placed this country behind most of Europe.-The effects of perfecution have not been able to alienate the catholic from the protestant. But he saw the time approach, when every penal statute would be no more, when not the smallest distinction in political interests will subsist, and when every thing is done away, in the room of protestant ascendancy, there will succeed union and friendship between the catholic and the protestant-Hoped all former jealousies would now cease, and there would foon be an end to this only contest, which he thought would only promote the good of Ireland. You are now engaged in war with a peoMajor Doyle said, that as he was the first person in that house who declared his determination to give entire and total emancipation to the Roman catholics of Ireland, he felt himself called upon to say a very sew words in answer to some arguments which had been urged against the measure.

He disclaimed its belonging to party; it was of too great magnitude, and he should hold that man the most infamous in society, who could sport with the feeling of three millions for so unworthy a pur-

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He denied it could affect the interest of the protestant religion, which he respected. But he thought the idea of ascendancy, as applicable to religion, not only weak, but nearly impious. What had religion to do with it?

The Holy Author of our religion preached against ascendancy; he preached humility, and you do not find in the bible, from Genesis to Revelations, one word of commissioners of the revenue or excise, or

tafters of wines, &c.

It is a question of power, not between the king and his people, for their interest is, and I hope always will be the same; but between four-fifths of the people of Ireland on the one part, and a few interested individuals on the other, who, like all monopolists, wish to exclude others from a share.

It is so with the monopolists of the India trade in England; it is so with those of the African trade in England; and it is so with the monopolists of the

Irish slave trade.

I shall pass over the speech of the learned member (Doctor Duignan), as it applied to every thing but the petition which had been actually before the house. The only affertion relative to it seemed to be, that such laws as the

ple, haters of civil government. But you can do nothing without the aid of your catholic brethren.

Colonel Cunningham next observed, that gentlemen formed their opinions from this town and its neighbourhood.

That no wonder the supplications of 3,000,000 of people had no effect on certain gentlemen of crooked policy, who sit in this house only to withdraw all connexion between this country and England.

That he thought however the Roman catholics were daily increasing in their demands—Their claims in the course of last year extended no farther than the elective franchise and trial by jury.

Mr. Chamberlaine objected to the granting any share in the legislature to any but under due qualifications. The law had wifely provided a qualification, to which he saw nothing in the catholic religion that could be a prohibition.

The test instituted at the Revolution was a political test; but that of Ireland in particular was a religious one, since an Irish catholic may hold all the articles of the church of Rome, and yet abjure all the articles of the Revolution.

The religion of the catholic attaches him to the monarchical part of the constitution; and in that sense is in itself a parliamentary reform.

He confidered the elective franchise the restoration of a right; he would therefore infist upon it but would at the same time infist, that the participation ought to be gradual, not a full one altogether.

Major

they complained of might be on the books, but were not put in force. Sir, faid Major Doyle, if they are too bad to be enforced, they are too bad to be there, and I never will confent to entrust the liberty of my fellow-subjects to the caprice, or even the good-nature of the magistrate. Away with the dismal code! compared with it, the Draconian code was mercy. The sword of Damocles, hung with a single hair over my head, is a greater punishment than though it fell and crushed me.

It is faid, if catholics get the franchife, they will fpeedily acquire landed property. Why, fir, they must first obtain freeholds, for the bill only gives them eligibility; then they will vote for their landlord, if he be a good one, as the dissenters do indif-

criminately, without regard to religion.

But how are the catholics to get the landed property? it is one hundred to one against them in landed property---and will both parties magically change their qualities on the passing of the bill? The protestant to become idle and diffipated, and the catholic industrious and frugal, so as by industry, to purchase all the landed property .-- Why, fir, if they should ever be superior in numbers and also in landed property, you could not, nor ought not prevent their having a pre-eminence in the state. Look fir, faid he, to Canada--- fee there a conflitution framed by his present majesty, afferted by his present minister. Their house of affembly, (is answerable to our house of commons,) confilts of 50 members, of which 35 are catholics and 15 protestants. The business of government and the country goes on well. The 35 are there, not in consequence of their catholicity, but because they have the landed property, which must and ought always to prevail .-- I mention this to shew that when power is out of the question, religion will be very quiet.

To this may be objected the capitulation of Montreal, to which I oppose the capitulation of Lime-

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rick. Let the one answer the other; but I care not for capitulations---their claim for freedom rests on better basis---they derive it from God and from Nature.

It is faid, they will obtain the high offices of the state---but gentlemen forget it is the king who gives them away, and of course will not chuse the seditious.

It is faid the poorer fort don't wish the franchise: I know not how people can learn their opinion. They probably are ignorant of the meaning of the term, but if they knew, that by having it, they will be protected from being turned out of their farms, to make room for freeholders, they will then thank you for the franchise. But it is said that this seldom happens---Sir, we have all often feen advertisements for lands to be let, "and none but a protestant need " apply." I have one in my hand, faid he, within the last fortnight to the same effect. It is asked will the catholic be fatisfied with this bill? Sir, it would be prefumption to answer for any body of men. But, I have no doubt they will be grateful to their fovereign and the legislature, for what they do get---of course they would be still better pleased to get more. But, if they were loyal before with their former oppression, surely they will not be less so when they are materially relieved. It would be abfurd to fuppose they would never look further. "The higher " you ascend to the hill, the more extended will be " the view." Let us give then speedily "qui dat cile " dat bis." Away with the left handed wisdom of governing by divisions! Govern a whole people!-Let us give generously, and have "no craving void " left aching in the breaft."

Mr. Graydon spoke but few words intended as a caution to guard against the danger of extending privileges of any body of men without the greatest

referve.

Mr. Grattan,—I could wish the bill under your consideration had gone farther. I could wish that it had given the roman catholics the privileges of other differers. I am sure that is the only sound policy. I think, however, the bill deserves thanks, because it contains much, and also because it leads to much more—but I must say the mover had discovered more sense if he had given to the catholics the whole now, and had settled

with them for ever.

The fituation of the roman catholics is reducible to four propositions; they are three-fourths of your people paying their proportion of near 2,000,000% of taxes, without any share in the representation or expenditure; they pay your church establishments, without any retributions; they discharge the active and laborious offices of life. manufacture, husbandry and commerce, without those franchises which are annexed to the fruits of industry, and they replenish your armies and navies, without commission, rank, or reward: under these circumstances, and under the further recommendation of total and entire political feparation from any foreign prince or pretender, they defire to be admitted to the franchise of the constitution: I have listened to your objections with great respect—give me leave to answer them.

The first objection I heard, is the petition of the catholics to his majesty; but, who is there that does not see the question to be, whether the catholics are aggrieved, and not how those grievances have been stated by their committee. But even, on the ground of the petition, if as in a case of bill and answer, you choose, to wrangle, you will find their petition is substantially true—it complains that the catholic, by law, cannot carry arms—the law is so—it complains that the catho-

lic, on refusing to discover their arms, are liable to be whipped. That law is yet in force, and finally it states, the great and radical grievance, that the catholics are excluded from the franchifes of the constitution; and about that complaint, there is no doubt, the petition therefore cannot justify a refusal to administer redress, even if their redress depended on the manner of forming their petition. But the second objection goes on broader and bolder grounds, and infifts on the demerits of the catholics; it states, that the catholics abhor all protestants, and never were, nor are, nor ever will be, loyal fubjects to a protestant king; and it afferts in particular, that in every war and in two rebellions, fince the revolution, the catholics have exerted themselves to the best of their power, against their king and country, and have besides, been guilty of various domestic insurrections. The last part of the objection fcarcely deferves notice; it proposes that the catholic inhabitants of 32 counties should be punished for the disturbances of fix; it proposes that the offences of a local mob should be visited on the community at large, and that the finite offences of that local mob fhould be punished by the eternal disfranchisement of the community; it makes the crimes of the man the pretext for the profecution of the fect; it proceeds on a principle that would disfranchise every part of his majesty's dominions, where riots have existed, and almost every great city, the city of London in particular-it proceeds on a principle which argues from the particular to the universal, and which in logic is false reasoning, and in politics is a departure from the principles, not of reason only, but of justice, of humanity, and of charity.

This last part of the objection, I say scarcely requires an answer; the first does—it states, that

after the articles of Limerick, the catholic troops rejected general Ginkle's offer, and almost to a man went to the enemy. This is not history; the fact is otherwise; it has been made to appear already by my hon. friend from undoubted authority, that 19 regiments of the catholic army at that time joined king William. The objection proceeds to another mifrepresentation, and states that the Irish brigade is constantly recruited and officered from Ireland. The fact is not fo. Here again the objection, in matter of fact, totally and notoriously fails. The Irish brigade is not constantly recruited and officered from Ireland, but on the contrary, few of its officers, and very few of its men are recruited from Ireland. Gentlemen will diftinguish between officers of Irish families and of Irish birth, and they will distinguish also between a regiment bearing an Irish name, and a regiment filled with Irishmen. The first is the case of the Irish brigade, and the latter is not; and for the refutation of this part of the objection, I appeal to the knowledge and the candour of gentlemen who have feen fervice, and who must know the charge, that the Irish brigade is constantly officered and recruited from Ireland, to be absolutely destitute of foundation. The objection proceeds, and states that 16,000 Irish catholics fought against great Britain in the American war. I believe the number, of those Irish to be greatly magnified; and fure I am that this description is not just; those Irish were in great numbers-Presbyterians of the North, not catholics of the South; they emigrated in great bodies, and they continue now to emigrate to America from the North of Ireland, not for rebellion, but for land, or a better condition. Your fellow fubjects have emigrated from poverty at home, and fometimes have met war; and if you wish never Hh 2

to meet them in arms in other countries, your method should be to give them a better condition at home. The objection proceeds, and states, that great bodies of Irish fought against England at St. Eustatia and St. Lucia; here again the objection fails in point of fact; - great bodies of Irishmen did not fight against England at St. Eustatia There was indeed a regiment of and St. Lucia. 1800, commanded by general Dillon, the Irish brigade, and this, I suppose, the objector conceives to be those great bodies of Irishmen; but that regiment was chiefly composed of Dutch, and of the recruits of various nations, and of very few Irish; and here again I appeal to the gentlemen on the fervice, whether this part of the objection is not, like the other parts, entirely unfounded. The objection proceeds and states, that the Irish catholics fupply the fleets and armies of the enemies in a much greater proportion than those of great Britain; this I must positively deny; they fupply the fleets and armies of the enemy in a very trifling proportion, and they supply the fleets and armies of great Britain in a very great and abundant proportion. In the last war, of 80,000 feamen, 50,000 were Irish names; in Chelsea, near one-third of the pensioners were Irish names; in some of the men of war almost the whole complement of men were Irish. With respect to the recruiting fervice, it is a fact known to the gentlemen of the army, that fince they have recruited for the foot in Ireland, the regiments have been filled in a great proportion with Irish catholics. I do not mean to fay, that the Irish catholics have supplied his majesty's fleets and armies abundantly; but so abundantly, and in so great a proportion, that the recruiting fervice could not well go on without them. I appeal again to gentlemen who have feen fervice, to their knowledge in this particular,

particular, and their candour; and I affirm that this part of the objection, like the other parts, has no foundation whatfoever. The objection proceeds and states, that some of the protestants are nearly as criminal as the papifts; these protestants are the persons who took a part for the emancipation of Ireland, and the objection complains that fome of their measures were passed into laws;those measures were the emancipation of the country in 1782, and those ill-affected men were the parliament, that is the king, lords, and commons that passed those acts of emancipation; the objection compares the persons concerned therein to the catholic rebels before the revolution; and at the same time it represents the catholics fince the revolution, as well as before, as difaffected: here is the division under which this objection describes his majesty's subjects; all the catholics difloyal, and all the protestants, who lately took part for the emancipation of Ireland, viz. the king, lords, and commons, disloyal likewife, more difloyal than the catholics fince the revolution, and very like those catholics who before the revolution were executed for rebellion. Thus the objection ends in general defamation, and feeble infatuation—a proof how bigotry will extinguish the force of the mind, impair its principles, banish the virtues of the citizen, and the charity of the christian."

The next objection is, that the roman catholics now have every thing short of political power, to which I must observe, that the objection proves two things, an ignorance of the nature of liberty, and the situation of the catholic—civil and political liberty, depend on political power, that community that has no share whatsoever, directly, or indirectly, in political power, has no security for its political or civil liberty;—the example of the catholic—catho

catholic is a proof; what deprived the roman of his civil rights for this century, but the want of political rights, the want of right of representation; what deprived him of the rights of education, of felf defence? a parliament in which he had no effectual, though for a time, he had a nominal representation. Such a parliament may take away his wife, it did fo fuch a parliament may bastardise his issue, it did so-such a parliament may enter into his domestic occonomy, and fet on his children to defy the father, it did to -where then is the utility of attempting to convince the catholic that he may have in fecurity civil liberty, without any share of political powers, when his prefent fituation is an experimental refutation of that fallacious fophistry, and a proof that no community can long enjoy civil liberty under laws that have excluded them from all thare of political power; or, in other words, that no community have a fecurity for civil liberty when that liberty may be taken away, by any body where they have no authority; but it is supposed, the catholics have civil liberty, certainly they have not; they have not free and unfettered, the rights of education; they have not the full benefit of trial by jury, for they are excluded from petty juries, in some cases, and from grand juries in almost all, and they have not the rights of felf defence, for they cannot carry arms; no man means to fay that a license to an individual at the arbitrary will of a privy council, to carry arms, is a substitute for a right of felf defence; under the law, he is ever liable to be questioned on fuspicion of having arms, and subject to an inquisition instituted against the principles of self defence; he is liable to be whipped if he refuses to make discovery, for the law has not expired, and though his discovery is no evidence against

him, yet his refufal is whipping; it is therefore trifling to fay, that a person so circumstanced has even civil liberty, still less any security for its continuation; but it is said, he is on the same ground, as the exfranchised protestant, denied,

utterly denied.

Protestants having property, or the symbol of property, can very generally vote-franchife, that is freedom-of guilds or corporate towns is the fymbol of property; but the protestant who has no property, cannot complain that he has no vote—he is a non-proprietor, and of course is not affected by laws taking or regulating property; he is a passenger on your farm, or a guest in your house, and has no pretentions to the regulations thereof; but the catholic who is a proprietor may complain, because his property is taxed and regulated without his confent. Mr. Byrne complains, he pays to the revenue near 100,000l. annually, and has no vote. John Doe has no vote, but he pays nothing, there is no refemblance, therefore, between the enfranchised protestant and disfranchifed catholic; or, if any, the refemblance is that between a man who is robbed, and a man who has nothing to be robbed ofthe man, the profits of whose industry are taken without his confent, and the man who has no industry from whence profits could arise—the difference between a violation of the rights of nature, and none.

The catholic proprietor appears indeed to be on a level with the protestant beggar, but is not. The protestant beggar is one of the community of the legislation, though not a sharer therein; he is of that tribe for whose benefit the laws are made. In this country there are two codes of laws; one for the protestant sect, another for the catholic. The legislature has a common interest

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with the one, and against the other. The protestant beggar has therefore an advantage over

the catholic proprietor.

It is objected they are not fit for freedom. The elective franchise acts directly on men, not measures. Montesquieu, I need not remind you, obferves, that the people are good judges of character, though not always of things. Do you think the roman catholics adequate to that? Is there a man in the house who has a name, of whose character they are not fully apprised, who has supported, who has opposed certain measures? The press has made every character a public subject; our conversations are known, our principles of action are very well known. As to the measures, car we suppose the roman catholics incapable of judging of them? They are not complicated; the measures of Ireland are domestic regulations.

The fact of their unfitness is not true; but if it were, if they are not rational enough to choose a man to ferve in parliament, how criminal must you have been who have governed them, and under whose government, for a century, they have not acquired the power to exercise their rational faculties. Your government (supposing the charges to be true, which I utterly deny) must have been more horrible than the worst of tyrannies; it must have done worse than take away property, life, or limb; it must have brutalised your own species. But the truth is otherwise; they are not beafts;—you are not tyrants. I can collect from the charge fome meaning, though I cannot collect your conclusion; I collect that the catholics have lived apart from you, and therefore you are inclined to think them an inferior species; and perhaps, though they do not labour under a moral incapacity, yet from the separation of societies they have not all your advantages. What then is

military profession .- I have shewed how constantly you connived at the breach of your own law: —the question is not whether the catholic shall ferve in the army; but shall serve in the army only when you want him, and he gets nothing by it; as a common foldier, getting fixpence per day, it feems he is fafe-as an officer, getting a livelihood, dangerous; --- that you should monopolize his blood and your own honours and emoluments, it is a condition too unequal to be lafting; they are fit to be entrusted with arms we fay, therefore they may be foldiers; they are not fit to be entrusted with arms we say, therefore they may not be officers; but the better order of catholics we rely on, it is the lower order we suspect; therefore, the better may not, and the lower order may be received in our army.-The extending this disqualification even to a prohibition, on their carrying arms is another feverity -Is it to fay, we are afraid we have injured you too much, to fuffer you to carry arms even for your own defence.—It is a prohibition of conscious severity, useless, because constantly broken, and meritorioully departed from by yourselves, who arm catholic fervants against your own laws; as you arm catholic foldiers against your enemies and against your law---which in this instance is your greatest enemy? A protestant gentleman wants to go home late in the evening, that is a good reason for arming a catholic against law; a catholic farmer wants to preferve his life and property, that is no reason for arming him according to law; you use in this particular, the laws as your fport, and the papifts as your property; they may arm as your fervants and as your mercenaries, but not as citizens; thus by our connivance as individuals, and feverity as legislators, are they encouraged to despise the laws, and to

hate them. I have shewn already, that this law, prohibitary on carrying arms, is not observed, and cannot be observed; what more can the state take away than the robber? unless the penalty is made something more, than the loss of property and life, men will carry arms to defend both.

That part of your code which difables the roman catholic from fitting on grand juries, except, and fo forth, is like every other part, liable to great objections; it subjects three millions to be taxed without their confent by the grand jury, who are already taxed without their confent by the parliament, and is a fecond flagrant breach of the great charter; to the catholic that charter is a grievance; it is light to a blind man. You tax three millions, not only for the flate, but for every road prefentment, robbery petition, illicit ftill, the abuse and extravagance of which grants is to you a complaint, the use as well as the abuse is to him a grievance. This is a great aggrayation of public taxes; it is a home-felt tyrant, that brings to his door the little vexations and fretful tyranny of a superior, and makes him infignificant in his own farms, and under his own vine, and touches him in those leffer nerves where he is less mortal but extremely irritable; and here you subject him to where the partial diffributions of justice, in a tribunal tax him without his confent, and try him without his peers, where he has no peers, and his adverfary may have votes; and as the oppression is great, so is the mos tive little; it is a monopoly of jobbing; you do not exclude him entirely from the petty jury which is a function much more interesting to protestant life and property, but which is trouble without county patronage or county powers. As the object is monopoly, fo, as usual, the pretexty is religion; that exclusion which you impose inc

the case of juries, you impose in the case of magiftracy; and though with less oppression, with as little pretence, 3,000,000 of your fellow fubiects are to have no share whatsoever in the execution of the law no more than they have in the formation of it --- Over the whole extent of your country, and of 4,000,000 of people, you exclude 3,000,000 from the function of enforcing obedience to the law, as you have taken care that liberty, so have you taken care that law shall have no very general extension in your island. You have here, as usual, punished the protestant, the better to disable the influence of the papist; and no protestant married to a papist can be a justice of peace. -I have heard your reasons, a catholic should not be a magistrate in Ireland, because the laws contains a code, which is against him; that is the law his enemy, and yet we talk of the lawleffness of the common people; just as we talk of the bleffings of our most excellent constitution, excluding them from any share in the law, or any participation in the constitution, what makes the fubject love the law not the hangman? pains and penalties may be the objects of terror, but not of affection; he loves the law because he has a share in the formation and execution of it; the men who are reconciled to taxes, are these who vote, and the men who are reconciled to penalties are those who enact them, and the men who are friends to a rigid execution of a law, is the community that furnishes juries to find bills. Judges to fentence, and magistrates to execute: the relation in which the protestant stands, makes him a party to the laws, the relations in which the catholic flands, make him objects of the law; not party; he is not a party to the law, and the law is a party against him, therefore the laws may be objects of his obedience not his affection. Kk 2 then

then is their fituation, and this fituation explains the liberality of those who say, they offer them every thing except the privilege of becoming part of the state; every thing, except a part of the electoral community; every thing, except a part of the legislative community; every thing, except a part of the judicial community; every thing, except a part of the corporative community; every thing, except a part of the executive community -that is a species of excommunity, with privileges to acquire property for you to tax without their consent. Thus are the catholics by the prefent code excluded from an interest in your laws, they are also excluded from communication with your persons; the society of marriage punished; the fociety of education forbidden; the fociety of civil employment forbidden; the fociety of military employment forbidden; the fociety of parliament forbidden; the fociety of election forbidden; the fociety of grand jury forbidden; the fociety of magistracy forbidden; there is no fubject of public care, in which they can affociate with the protestant without breach of law, no fubject of conversation, except foreign politics, foreign changes, and foreign revolutions.

We have declared, we hope to become one people, how by these lines of circumvallation, erasing the natural geography of your country, and setting up parallels and circles of folly and supersition, from the marriage bed to the cradle, from the cradle to college, and from college to the grave, are two nations that cannot by any public interest or business, or by any general call, save that of death, be brought together. There have been three policies observed with respect to the catholics, the first was that of Cromwell—extermination by operation of the sword; the second was that of Anne, extermination by operation of the

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LAWS; and the third was your's, which allowed them a qualified existence. Tho' the two former were cruel, yet both were confistent-They both confidered papifts as criminals, and exercifed over them the right of conquest-They considered the catholics as a body who were neither to have the power, nor property, nor any public existence in your country. The laws of Ireland prevented them from acquiring property in land, and the usurpations of England prevented either them or the protestants from acquiring any confiderable property by commerce. But the third policy, much milder than either, is more extravagant than both-your policy. You allow them fchools. feminaries, and colleges, but distinct from our own, and without funds-marriage, but marriage attended with pains and penalties; a free trade without franchife, and land without a vote. Let us discuss how far this policy is consistent with the interest of the constitution, the king, or the British empire. I will suppose under your laws the catholics purchase considerable tracts of land-The lands fo purchased is unrepresented. Just as the wealth of your country grows, the extent of your conftitution contracts. I will suppose these men become a great commercial body; a great portion of commercial interest, as well as the landed, is unrepresented, and your constitution still more contracted: what a portion of the ftrength of the country, must, in that event, be taxed, without the confent of its owners.-Your conftitution will be no longer a representation. either of property or population, fo that the British constitution will be worked out of the island by operation of law. Who will answer for the patience of that strength, compounded of a great portion of wealth, as well as of numbers?—Who will answer for the satisfaction of those proprie-

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tors? It is no life but the condition of living; the flave is not fo likely to complain of the want of property, as the proprietor, of the want of privilege. The human mind is progressive; the child does not look back to the parent that gave him being, nor the legislator to the people that gave him the power of acquisition, but both look forward; the one to provide for the comforts of life and the other to obtain all the privileges of property.

Your imperfect grants and comprehensive theories, have given those aspiring thoughts, and let in that train of ideas which may hereafter greatly ferve, or marvelously distract your country—you have already given to their minds the first principles of motion, and the laws of motion now must

direct the machine.

The germ on the foul, like the child in the womb, or the feed in the earth, fwell in their flated time to their destined proportions, by virtue of their laws, which we neither make nor controul. - Talk not in fuch cases of gratitude, rely on that gratitude which is founded on intereft; fuch gratitude as governed yourselves from 1691, when you fecured your property, to 1779, when you demanded your trade, and 82, when you demanded your liberty, from a colony looking only to property, to a people looking to a free form of government-from planters joining with the mother country against the catholics, to a nation joining with the catholics to exact of the mother country trade and freedom. Do I condemn you, fuch is the progress of nation, fuch the nature of man, and fuch his gratitude. Let me now confider how far this policy is confident with the interest of his majesty; it has been said, that under a protestant monarch, the catholic ought never have the elective franchise; thus gentlemen

have attempted to annex the curse of catholic flavery to the person of the king. They have gone a step farther, and have supposed the coronation oath goes against the present claims of the catholics, and have thus represented the king as fworn against the liberties of his people; they have done this, on a furmife, the statement of which would excite our fcorn, if its confequence did not produce our apprehensions, that men believing in the real presence cannot be well affected to the house of Hanover; they have urged this, when the Pretender was extinct, when the power of the Pope was extinct, and when the fting of catholic faith was drawn; they have done this when a new enthusiasm had gone forth in the place of religion, much more adverse to kings than popery, and infinitely more prevailing—the fpirit of republicanism. At such a time, they have chosen to make the catholics outcasts of a protostant: monarchy, and leave them no option but a republic; fuch a policy and fuch argument, tend to make Irish catholics French republicans; they aid the cause of proselytism against the cause of kings; they would drive the roman catholics from the huftings, where they might vote without danger, and would fend them to plant the tree of liberty on their own hills, where treason, foreign and domestic, may intrigue in a body kept vacant for all the floating poison of the times to catch and propagate—a school for the discontents of both countries and the foreign emiffaries, who need not bring any other manifelto than your own code and your own refolutions.

Idiffer much from those who say that the roman catholic cannot, under a protestant king, enjoy the franchises of the constitution; I should say directly the reverse,—that under no government

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ment can the franchises of the constitution be communicated fo effectually, and fecured fo permanently to all his majesty's subjects, as under our prefent monarchial government. The time is come when every loyal subject should be free, and every free subject loyal ; -- it is true, the roman catholics will now be your fellow subjects, but not your subjects; they will be subjects of the king, and not the flaves of fubjects, who flood with regard to them, in the place of kings. Do you lament the change? I congratulate you upon it;---the Basha will not command the cringe of the peafant's knee, but the king will command the strength of it. You appropriate this great body of men to the throne; you put the stamp of the king upon them, and ferve the crown more by far than when you vote for his minister. Let me confider this policy in its relation to the British empire. Britain, you know, governs you no longer; it is not your religious arrangement that interests her, but your physical strength. You do not mean to fay that the catholics cannot be faithful in their connexion with great Britain. Lappeal to those officers who served with them in the last war; -their religion furely cannot now make them adverse; the roman catholic religion refembles much more the church of England than the church of France; their diffent cannot make them adverse.—You say the catholics are not as well disposed as the protestants, because they are not descended from the English; many of them are; but nations have neither a parent's nor a child's affection; like the eagle they difmits their young and know them no longer. I know not whether the roman catholics are as well disposed to great Britain as the protestants are; but I am fure they are at least as well disposed as the protestant's would be, if they were deprived of civil and

is the evil? The feparation.—What the cause? The laws.—What is the remedy? The repeal of the laws.

The objections at last take the turn of self defence, and urge, that if you give the elective franchife, you give away the power. No, you gain it; for at present you have it not—the event will be the reverse of your apprehension. The protestant would not give away the elective franchife, he would get it. The protestant individual is now a monopolist against a protestant people. The oligarchy, with the crown, has the borough—the aristocracy has a great portion of the counties. This they call a protestant ascendancy, but this is a monopoly against a protestant people. Some of the protestants have understood it rightly;—they have feen what the effence of the elective franchise is in its extent; that confined, it is the trade of the individual; in order to take it back from the individual and restore it to the protestant people, it is necessary to multiply the electors, for even men in numbers cannot become property; the borough may; the borough patrons, of whatever religion, will be an ariftocracy-the electors, of whatever religion, will be a people. On elections there are three parties—the minister, the aristocracy, and the people. You have thrown out of the scale of the latter a great portion of your own weight, and therefore you are light; restore that portion to the scale of the people, and you will recover that gravity: the effect therefore of this participation will be to reftore to the protestant people their elective authority. As an example of your weakness, the whole power of the elective franchise has not created, in the protestant body, a protestant ascendancy; far from it the protestant electors have not been able to carry a fingle point for these last ten years,

nor any point for these last twenty years, except in 1779 and 1782, when there was other strength to affift your cause, and with it the cordial and active support of the catholic community; as the church of England's electors have acquir'd ftrength by communicating the franchise to the presbyterians, fo protestants and presbyterians acquire force by communicating the franchife to the catholics—and, on the fame principle on which the protestant electors exclude the catholics, so should that part of them which is called the church of England exclude the prefbyterians; the parliament and its electors would then preserve what they now depart from—unity of religion, and destroy unity of interest. In a few words, this objection fays, that in order to preferve the power of a protestant people, we should take precaution, that we may be no people at all. This objection is entirely blind to the present progress of things, and does not fee that the tendency of it is not to deifm most undoubtedly, it is to popery. This objection gives no credit to the operation of affociation on the repeal of the penal code; it allows nothing for the growth of liberal opinion; it does not conceive the possibility of a political conformity; it cannot conceive one political attachment in a fociety, whose members, as is the case of every fociety, entertain their different notions on fubjects of religion. The objection on the whole, is founded on this polition, that two fects will retain the animofity of the provocation after the provocation is removed. The objection goes farther; it fays, that if the catholics get the franchife, they will, at length, get fach power in the house of commons, as to repeal the act of settlement, reverse the outlawries, and subvert the protestant church. With regard to the first, there would be a difficulty, fomewhat approaching to an:

an impossibility, for if those outlawries were set afide, and the act repealed, the estates would remain exactly where they-are. The title being now, by time, another operation would be necesfary; the parliament should attaint every present proprietor; but that would not do; a further operation is necellary: the parliament should find out the lawful heir of the old proprietors, which, I apprehend, would be impossible; but, exclusive of the impossibility of the event, I will endeavour to give the imaginary fears of gentlemen other reasons: -Before the catholics could have power to repeal the act of fettlement and reverse the outlawries, they must be the parliament, and before they become the parliament they must be the landed proprietors of the kingdom; in that event, it is impossible to fay what they will do; but it is obvious to fay what they will not do; they will not change the flate of landed property. In further answer it is almost unnecessary to repeat that there are no catholics now making claim; that the catholics have folemnly renounced it; that they defire you to propound your own terms of renunciation; that the number who could trace a claim is next to nothing; and that the number of catholics interested in the present state of landed property, by mortgage, purchase, and otherwise, is the majority of the principal members of their community; but though it is unnecessary to urge this now, yet there is another thing which cannot be too strongly impressed on you, that is the present state of catholic depresfion.

Protestant property is very much in danger.—
Witness the funds, whose fall is a proof how
much you are one interest, and what a portion
of that interest is the catholics. Do you tremble
at a visionary claim;—and are you insensible and
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flupid to an existing diminution of your property. real or personal. The second objection is, that the church establishment will be subverted. I see no reason why the church should be more in danger from the catholics than from the presbyterians, who, in Ireland, are the majority of the protestants. If the church is in danger, it is from the times, not from the catholics; and I know of nothing fo likely to encrease that danger as an opposition on the part of the church to the liberty of three parts of the island. To insist on a system of taxation, without representation, in order to fecure a system of tithe, without consolation, would be to hazard both; but to shake the latter in a time of some speculation on the subject of church emoluments, the best policy is to make those emoluments reconcileable to other interests and passions.

I have confidered the objections to catholic freedom. I will now confider the code of catholic depression. I will begin with the beginning, and where you should have begun; with education. Respecting this part of the subject, your present laws are criminal on three grounds, they refuse a degree to the catholic in the university, and establishing a separation at the time in which friendships and sympathies are formed, ordain a species of anti-fraternity by act of parliament, excluding him from the right of education in your university, they exclude him from the right of endowing an university for educating himselfthat is, they impose ignorance by act of parliament, unless where they ensure a third mischief, foreign education; from this original error the

law advances to more.

They have permitted intermarriage as politic; they have made but subject to the highest penalty (not only as impolitic, but as criminal;) that affociation,

fociation, which is the parent of every other, and leads directly to mass and mingle into one people: they have punished and deterred by disqualifical tion. Thus they have ordained separation on propagation, and have gone to the origin of things; to fow the feed of mischief there. They have attempted to make two molds for the human fpecies, transmitting to posterity opposite characteriftics of implacable weakness, and inveterate and malignant folly. They heve introduced into the religion of the christians the tyranny which difgraces the Gentoos, and which they also call religion; they have cut and carved the human fpecies into diffinct casts of perpetual incommunication, stopping the circulation of the human blood, in order to preserve his pride, his folly, and his imbecility.-Did you find that nature fuggefted a hint to your laws, by stopping the pregnant confequences of fuch intermarriages, or by muling the iffue of the first degree? I would allow that the confent of the mother and father, in one precife organization of faith, was effential to human propagation. But here the honesty of nature derides the madness of the statute, and the wisdom of your inflinct corrects the folly of law. You have made a separation between the sects in an instance, when an intercourse was rendered necesfary, not only by your real interest, but your idle fears; --- because that marriage which you deterred, confounds those claims which you effect to tremble at, and blends catholic pretentions with protestant titles, while it makes catholic numbers administer to protestant population, and physically and politically would, if your state of mind admitted of benefit, do you service. Your late act seemed fensible of this, and therefore permitted the marriage, but permitted it under the penalty of disqualification; that is, the law author fes the act, and punishes

punishes it. The law has a glimmering sense of its own folly, and goes a little way, just as in cases where the mind has a fense of what is wrong, without a love of what is right .- Your law eftablishes the principle of intermarriages, and then impeaches its own principle; it at once authorized and discredited; and to complete the folly of the act, the punishment you inflict, is to fall exclusively on those of your own persuasion. The roman catholic hulband is not punished for the intermarriage with a protestant, but the protestant husband is disqualified for the intermarriage with a papift. If a protestant adds catholic claim and catholic property to the protestant community, he loses the rank of a citizen, and the community of which he is a member loses also a portion of its constitutional strength; and the number of protestant electors, of whose paucity you complain, is rendered still less, by doing an act which you affect to encourage. Thus, in every ftep of the progress, you yourselves are punished; you are punished as individuals, by disqualification, and as a free community, by diminution.—In order to palliate your own disfranchisement to your own people, you are obliged to depreciate the value of franchise; in order to reconcile your permission to your penalty, and your penalty to your permission, you are obliged to aggravate the condition of intermarriage which you permit, and to depreciate the condition of freedom, which you affect to hold inestimable. Such unhappy effects are the refult of an unafcertained and ill-affured mind in the legislature that devises the law.-Struggling with reason, and compromising with folly, it makes the law a monster—a permission with prohibition. Your law fays-remove this inhuman and impolitic separation; unite, intermarry; the law adds, if you do, I will drive you

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out of the peal of the constitution. The motive to all these inconsistencies is as inconsistent and weak as the inconsistencies themselves.

We lay it down as a maxim of government, that the theology of the wife as well as the hufband, is a subject of penal law, moral depravity is out of the question: her theology is what the state investigates, and yet she may be a pagan as well as a profligate, but she must not be christian of the catholic communion; she may worship love, or Venus, or Mahomet—but Christ! if the worthips him according to the catholic ritual. by that the is supposed to entertain principles hoftile to the state, and to poison—what?—the purity of her husband's politics in matters of elections, and left he should vote for an improper protestant, we strive, by the law, to make him a papist-for we take away from him one great motive for continuing a protestant—the right of citizenship. We fend him from the factty of the franchifed protestant, and, of course, force him into that of the papift. Conceived in the fame spirit of selfish folly is that part of the code which affects to regulate the medical art, rules of perfecution, and so regulates that art, as to refuse any degree of professorship therein to 3-fourths of the community. This is a combination against the fick, protestant as well as papist. How would you have exclaimed if any one had combined against your luxury, as you yourselves have combined against your health, and had faid that no man should have a license to exercise the art of a cook, unless a protestant? Suppose you had faid no Englishman shall have a license, no Scotchman shall have a license, there are some who would not live to refuse unto their own countrymen the same privilege; if a man's life it attacked by a robber, the law has not faid, let no man

fave him but a protestant; but the law does say if a man's life be attacked by disease, we authorise no man to save him but a protestant;—that is, we refuse to three-sourths of our countrymen a license to administer to the health of one another; now the chance of medical ability is according (in the same place) to the number of persons who may furnish practitioners; by your restriction, that chance you decrease, and in the same proportion encrease the chances of mortality—and this depredation on your healths you commit on yourselves in the name of religion; you diminish the soundations of your liberty, and you attack the sources of your existence, the better to promote your power and ascendancy.

I know I shall be told that they practice in Ireland; there are instances, I allow, but it is under a license got in other countries; you have not prevented the practice under these restrictions, because that was too strong for your humanity; not given the license, because that was too strong for your prejudices; you of course have annexed to catholic practitioners a clause of foreign education; you certainly do tolerate their practice, but under circumstances that amount to an entire discouragement, if not intoleration:—no license to practice; of the sive no one professorship; of all the places in hospitals, so necessary for experimental knowledge not one;—these chairs are made so many jobs for protestant prac-

titioners.

If doctor Purcel faves the lives of his majesty's protestant subjects it is not our fault, we have given such fort of men no fort of encouragement in such practices; we allowed him no professorship, gave no license, no countenance; let him and his patients pay their vows to some other country. I have already dwelt upon the importance of the military

and political advantages. If you doubt their difposition, do you dispose them better. You are truftees to preferve to great Britain the physical force of the catholics of Ireland, and nothing but you can forfeit it; -not religion, not the pope, not the pretender, but your profcription, which argues that the franchise of the catholic is incompatible with British connexion, and of course teaches the catholic to argue that the British connexion is incompatible with catholic liberty.-Thus you would deprive great Britain of her refources, in recruiting army and navy, but you will fupply their place; how? One million, after filling all the places in church and flate, will fpare the overplus of their numbers. You will borrow from the loom, and fend the weaver of the North into the ranks.—But this is a partial flatement for you, instead of affording one milhion to great Britain, you must borrow men from great Britain to defend and garrifon yourselves. Calculate then that in perfifting to disfranchife the catholic, you make him adverse; three millions are to be put into the other fcale, which would be a difference of fix millions, that is nearly one half of the whole empire. It follows from this, that your policy is prejudicial to the British empire, as well as to the throne.

I have considered your situation and your arguments.—A situation of extraordinary peril.—Arguments of extraordinary weakness, of monopoly, of panic, of prejudice, of any thing but religion; arguments which like the fabric they would sustain, cannot bear the proof of any trial, nor the principles of morality, not those of religion, nor those of policy, nor those of constitution; neither the touch of time nor the revolutions of mankind; their tendency is to make freedom a monopoly, which is like an endeavour

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to make the air and the light a monopoly; their tendency is to make God a monopoly. I have heard of monopolies of falt, monopolies of rice. monopolies of corn, but here is a monopoly of the Almighty, and yet the persons who use these arguments are men of talents. Compare, compound, abstract, but in this instance, the string of their madness so strangely perplexed in the intellectual function, one should think Gop had smitten the intellect of the country, as well as her fortunes, with some distinguished imbecility; suppose a will impeached for infanity, and it appeared in evidence that the testator had in his capacity as a general officer had taken powder and ball from one half of his battalion, because they believed in the real presence, or when sick, had refused to take a specific from Dr. Purcel, declaring he had confidence in his medicine, but had no faith, in his facrament, or had difinherited his own fon because his son's wife did not understand theology, or had fell on her knees to return thanks to Goo for his universal bleflings, and then had rifen up, and dealt out imprecations on three-fourths of the people about him; or proclaimed that as long as a protestant prince was on the throne, three-fourths of his fubjects be diffranchised. Would not the evidence which is nothing more than a compound of your piety and your policy, if applied to the case of an individual, compell twelve honest men, on their oaths, to find a verdict of infanity?

I have read of a republic, where the whole bufinels of life was neglected, to give place to mathematical investigation. I can suppose a more extraordinary state, where the law excluded from ferving the public, three-fourths of the people; unless they would give a theological opinion touching an abstract point of divinity, and verify fe -f

that opinion on oath. I have heard of Athens. that cruel republic, excluding fo many of her own children from the rights of citizenship; but she only had the wisdom of Socrates, the light of Plato; she had not, like you, revelation, to instruct her; besides she had not press--she had not the benefits of your leffon. What leffon that to a people it was not life; -but the condition of living, and to be bound without your own confent, was to be a flave; and therefore you were not fatisfied in 1782 with the free exercise of your religion. However I do not rely on your private productions. What are your public tracts, your repeated addresses to the king, the Speaker's annual speech to the throne, what are they while the penal code remains, but fo many dangerous and inflammatory publications, felicitating the protestants on the bleffings of that constitution from whence three-fourths are excluded, but above all that instrument, infinitely more incendiary than all Mr. Paine has written, that inftrument which you annually vote; what is it now? A challenge to discontent. I mean a money bill, wherein you dispose of the money of 3,000,000 of the people without their confent. You do not stir, nor vote, nor speak, without fuggesting to the catholics some motive either in provocation of your bleffings or the poifon of your free principles; some motive, I say, which is fatal to that state of quietism, wherein, during this age of discussion, you must enlay your people in order to give your government the chance of repose.

You are struggling with difficulties you imagine; you are mistaken; you are struggling with impossibilities. To enchain the mind—to case in the volatile essential soul—nor tower, nor dun

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geon, much less parliament, can be retentive of those fires kindled by yourselves in the breasts of your fellow fubjects. I would have you at this time diffrust that religious vanity which tells you that these men are not fit for freedom: they have answered that vanity in a strain of oratory peculiar to the oppreffed; it is the error of fects to value themselves more upon their differences, than their religion, and in these differences in which they forget the principles of their religions they imagine they have discovered the mystery of their salvation, and to this suppressed discovery they have offered human facrifices; what human facrifices have we offered, the dearest, the liberties of our fellow subjects; diftrust again that fallacious policy which tells your power is advanced by their bondage; it is not your power but your punishment; it is liberty without energy, you know it; it presents with a monopoly, and the monopoly of others, not your own; -it prefents you with the image of a monfter in a flate when the heart gives no circulation, and the limbs receive no life;—a nominal representative, and a nominal people; -call not this your misfortune, it is your fentence, it is your execution. Never could the law of nature fuffer one fet of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom; but, in making laws on the fubject of religion, we forget mankind until their own distraction admonishes, statesmen, of two truths,—the one that there is a God,—the other that there is a people; never was it permitted to any nation, they may perplex their understanding with various apologies, but never long was it permitted to exclude from effential, from what they themselves have pronounced essential bless-

ings; a great portion of themselves for periods of time, and for no reason, or what is worse, for fuch reason as you have advanced. Conquerors, or tyrants proceeding from conquerors, have fcarcely ever for any length of time governed by those partial disabilities, but a people so to govern itself or rather under the name of government, fo to exclude one another, the industrious, the opulent, the useful, that part that feeds you with its industry, and supplies you with its taxes, weaves that you may wear, and ploughs that you may eat; to exclude a body fo useful, fo numerous, and that for ever-and in the mean time to tax them AD LIBITUM, and occasionally to pledge their lives and fortunes! For what? For their disfranchisement. It cannot be done, continue it, and you expect from your laws what it were blafphemy to ask of your Maker. Such a policy always turns on the inventor, and bruifes him under the stroke of the scepter or the sword. or finks him under the accumulation of debt and loss of dominion. Need I go to instances? What was the case of Ireland, enflaved for a century, and withered and blafted with her protestant afcendancy, like a shattered oak, seethed on its hill by the fires of its own intolerance. What loft England America, but fuch a policy? an attempt to bind men by a parliament wherein they are not represented, such an attempt as some would now continue to practife on the catholics, and involve England. What was it faved England to Ireland, but the contrary policy? I have feen their principles of liberty very far by yourselves. —I have heard addresses from counties and cities here, on the fubject of the flaves, to Mr. Wilberforce, thanking him for his efforts to fet free a diffressed people; has your pity traversed leagues of fea to fit down by the black boy on the coaft

of Guinea—and have you forgot the man at home by your fide, your brother? Come then, and by one great act cancel this code, and prepare your mind for that bright order of time which now feems to touch your condition; but I have tired you—fuffer me to fit down, and thank you for your patient attention.

After Mr. Grattan had done speaking, a fewwords were alternately spoken by the doctors Brown and Duigenan and Mr. Secretary Hobart; the question was carried in the affirmative with only one negative, and the bill committed for

Monday with three negatives.

MONDAY, February 25.

Mr. Graydon having expressed his approbation of the principle of putting protestant and catholic on an equal footing, in respect of the elective franchise, and stating the ill consequences of admitting so large a number of electors as the bill would introduce, if freeholds of 40s. should be suffered to confer a vote, moved,

"That the committee of the whole house, to whom the catholic bill is referred, should be empowered to receive a clause to limit the value of freeholds entitling to vote at county elections, without prejudice to the right of freeholders now

registered."

Hon. D. Browne said that the lion, genleman had a few moments before the speaker took the chair stated the matter to him of the motion he had now brought forward; that the question whether there should be equality of franchise between catholic and protestant he had no doubt of at all—there should be none. Whether freeholders of either religion should vote from freeholds of 40s.

was a question of great delicacy and moment; it was however a subject for an election bill, and not for the bill about to be committed. He entreated of his hon. friend to withdraw it for the present, it might tend to embarrass the present question, the immediate passing of which into a law

was a measure of justice and policy

He faid, he was not fure that he would be ftrictly in order in speaking just then to the principle of the bill introduced by the right hon. gentleman, but in order to avoid troubling the committee on a fubject he had so often given his opinion, as the catholic claims on, he would now state his opinion of it as shortly as he could. He agreed with the right hon. gent. on the floor, that it was a fubstantial measure, full of benefits to the roman catholics, and for which they ought to be highly obliged. The advantages it gave were materialthe deprivations few;—the great fault of the bill was; that the deprivations were on the face of it, and the benefits in the back ground. The bill gave an unlimited right of voting at elections. As to the protestant, the revenue through all its various branches, the ordnance, the treasury, the offices of the law courts, with few exceptions; the army and the navy, were to follow by an English law through their different details; the post-office, magiffrates in counties, right of juries as to protestants. The offices catholics were capable of holding by the bill were two thousand; those they were still restricted from not one hundred and fifty. The good fense of the measure was apparent from the debate of last night—it was strongly supported and little relifted—so much so as to leave to the friends of the measure a strong hope that it would be an unanimous measure of parliament. If the right hon, gent. had waited till the fears and prejudices of the countrywere at an end, there was

no doubt that he might have gone farther; but he feared if he waited till that period, the eatholics would have waited for some time, till they got

what this bill gives.

The hon, and learned gent knew well that he could not carry a further measure now in the commons; that if he did, it would absolutely overturn it in the lords; that embarrassing or delaying the present bill, was highly injurious; that he entreated him to let it pass in its present shape, and bring forward his measure at another time; however, if the hon, member persisted in bringing forward an abstract question, whether any religious opinion should preclude any man that situation in life, that his fortune, his rank, or his character entitled him to? He had but one answer to give—that it should not; at the same time, he was convinced, that question was put at a time that its discussion could be of no service.

Major Hobart gave no opinion as to the abstract propriety of the clause or not; but he thought it highly improper to be introduced into the bill, the object of which was, to grant the elective franchise to the catholics, and not by any means to disfran-

chife any protestant.

Mr. Stewart [of Killimoon] faid, he would relift the principle of the clause not only now, but at all times. The protestant 40s. freeholder had never abused their privilege; but, on the contrary, they had contributed more than any body of men, to preserve the freedom of election.

Mr. Gratian expressed his disapprobation of clogging the bill with this clause—and thought it

would be better at any time to let it alone.

Mr. Graydon defended the clause against the arguments that had been used against it; but sinding it contrary to the sense of the house, on this occafion he withdrew it.

Hon. Mr. Knox moved that the committee on the catholic bill should be empowered to receive a clause for admitting catholics to fit in parliament. -He declared, he meant no censure on the right hon gentleman's bill-on the contrary, he thought he was entitled to thanks for having, as a minister ought to do, followed the public opinion. But he thought he should not discharge his own duty, if he did not in compliance with the direction from the throne, endeavour to discover such measures as would promote unanimity—He alluded to the recent events that had taken place in France. The monarchs had grown jealous of the nobles; who lofing the spirit which should attach to their rank had funk into flaves—the popular torrent had now fwept both away, and anarchy had feized the fceptre.—He compared the fituation of the protestants here with that of the last despotic monarchs of That despotism the protestants were now about to give up; they must at the same time give up every thing connected with it. The catholics, he faid, had been our subjects, not our fellow subjects. We have now given them property, and they have stolen education; if we do not then give up our domination entirely, it must soon be forced from us. He described the situation in which the catholics were; they had been for a long time in possession of civil, but deprived of political liberty. This latter, which he described to be the means of fecuring the former:—he faid, it was the object of the bill to grant the catholics-but it did not do fo effectually, as it permitted them professedly to choose, and yet really restrained them from choosing the men to whom they were attached.

After shewing how effectually the measure he proposed would counteract republican principles, he concluded by moving "that the committee be M m empowered

empowered to receive a clause to make it lawful for persons professing the reman catholic religion

to fit and vote in parliament."

Major Doyle rose to second the motion—He said that having been obliged in the course of discussing this very important question, to solicit the attention of the house, upon two different nights, very much at length—he should ill repay the kindness the house had been pleased to honour him with, were he in the present instance to trespass upon its patience.—He should content himself with barely seconding the motion of the hon, member—because although it was not shaped exactly as he wished, nor went the whole length of his idea, yet it tended towards the point which he had openly stated to the house on the first day of the session to be his great object, namely—The total and entire emancipation of the catholic subjects of Ireland.

Mr. Blake [of Ardfry] perfectly agreed in the propriety of the motion. The political and religious prejudices which had obtained ground formerly, were now become obfolete, and he was happy to fee so great a reformation. But he would submit, whether it would not be more prudent to let the bill pass? If the hon, gentleman should think differently from him, he should support his motion, as he should do every thing which tended to the sinal emancipation of the roman ca-

tholics.

Mr. M. Smith—after professing most solemnly that what he should say on this occasion should be the dictate of his heart, and of an understanding cool and impartial, though perhaps erroneous, befought the house to consider what liberality and wisdom dictated. That only would be liberal, he said, which would make the catholies contented and happy, and that only it would be wife to grant which might be granted with safety to ourselves. Liberality

Liberality and wisdom in this case, he said, were coincident—for that only would be wise which should make the catholics happy; since their con-

tent was the effence of our fafety.

The bill, he was forry to fay, fell far short of the point of wisdom and of liberality. It granted the elective franchise, but it withheld the representative franchise, and by thus granting a part, and withholding a part, it neither satisfied the catholic defire, nor secured the protestant safety.

It only holds the cup of liberty to their lips, then withdraws it, and tells them we did not mean they. should tafte it. The man who could fay the catholics ought to be contented with the bill, knew little of the human heart, and felt nothing of its finest energies. Liberty must be enjoyed in whole not in part; the must shine with a full orb, and her least obscuration was scarcely less felt than her total eclipse. Every good, he observed, was great or little from comparison; relative depression was, therefore, flavery-protestant ascendancy was catholic mifery. What, then, it might be asked, did the catholics want? he would answer in one word-Liberty-what many of the most brilliant characters of antiquity had died for, and without which no honourable man would wish to live. He would be understood to mean, however, only that chastised liberty, which was founded on, and regulated by law; not that political mania which had fo strongly seized a neighbouring country, and produced there fuch melancholy effects.

He then entered into a pathetic description of the present state of France, and from thence drew an inference, that when grievances are known to exist in a country, they should not be suffered to

remain too long unredreffed.

He refuted the affertion that the catholics should be admitted to the elective franchise, agreeably to

the principles of the constitution—but that they ought to be excluded from the senate. He shew, ed that the constitution required they should be admitted, as well to one as to the other. The duties of parliament he shewed, required all the wisdom, all the talents, and all the integrity of the land; what then could be faid of a law which excluded three-fourths of that wisdom, ability, and integrity from the senate house?-He did not allude to their numbers by way of intimidationit was an argument to their pity and to their justice-not to their fears. In a good cause no number would be too great to contend with-but furely three millions of men were too, too many to be excluded from the benefits of freemen.-If the clause proposed, were rejected, the bill would confer nothing but a CONGE D'ELIRE, and would be alike infulting to the catholics and protestants. -The house could not grant what would give union, if they did not grant all the advantages of the conftitution. To affert, they could, would be to contravene the first principles of reason, but let them place the catholics on equal ground with their fellow subjects, and then nothing internal nor external could injure the peace or fecurity of the country.—The adoption of the clause would raife the country to rank, fplendour, and dignity among the nations.

Sir H. Langrishe combated the motion. The throne had recommended fuch measures as would promote unanimity among all ranks of his majesty's subjects. The proposed motion would wound the feelings of a very respectable body of men, and therefore if adopted would prevent that unanimity which had been recommended from the throne. Besides the bill had yet many stages to travel, and if the clause proposed should be added to it, the vessel would be over freighted, and

might

might never attain its port. He therefore was de-

cidedly against the motion.

Mr. Ormfby thought the clause was a very proper one to be debated, and therefore would fupport it if nothing better should be proposed. He however thought it would be more eligible to expunge the 7th paragraph, which contains the exception altogether, for why admit them to fit in parliament, he asked, and at the same time prevent a protestant king from bestowing on them offices which were entirely at his disposal? He declared himself difinclined to permit so great a number of forty shilling freeholders to vote as would be created by the bill---he wished to limit the franchise to 101. freeholds. This mode would place both catholics and protestants on an equality, and at the fame time admit none but men of independent property to be electors. Were the 101. freeholders only permitted to vote, then there would a few and only a few catholics find their way into parliament, for some time, and thus they would be admitted gradually to power.

He warned the house that if they rejected the clause, at the next general election the people would put the question to issue—they would elect catholics, and the house would be committed.

Mr. Hardy observed, that last session also the hon. bart. had said, the vessel was too deeply freighted; he was of opinion that at present, if the present clause were adopted, it would serve as ballast—and she would get the better out of port. He made some shrewd observations on the rapid change of opinion which had taken place in the house, and declared it his opinion, that this versatility of conduct would produce a total loss of the dignity of the house—and if it goes on, the country, in his mind, would not be worth living in.

On the modification of the catholic admission. he thought, the fafety of the constitution depended.-Every thing like individual election, he thought, should be avoided, as they who have no property would have no object but that of disturbing those who have. Yet he did not mean, that a man who had but a small property might not have as great a stake in the country, as a man of larger fortune. He thought he might; -- for a man of property might transfer his wealth to another country:—the poor man cannot do fo with equal facility, and would, therefore, be more strongly attached to the liberty of his country. He would support the proposition that had been made, because he saw England sourish not so much by her commerce, her manufactures, &c. as by admitting all her people to the equal benefits of her conflitution. He wished a measure of this kind had been introduced earlier.

Mr. John O'Neil faid, he was one of the majority last session who rejected the catholic petition.—He had at that time been requested by different sets of his constituents to present petitions for and against the catholic claims: he was therefore, uncertain how to act—fince then however, the subject had undergone ample discussion, and that claim has now met almost universal approbation. He among the rest thought their claims just, and that they should therefore be acceded to. As far as the bill went he approved of it, but he wished it went farther-it would be more worthy the magnanimity of the house than half measures. Formerly the smallest favour would have been received with gratitude fuch was the humbled frate of the catholic mind; but now they begin to feel their own consequence, and of course would be content with nothing less than the full extent of their privileges. -The grant of them may be postponed, but cannot finally be evaded.—By postponing, discontent would be cherished—by granting, the question would be for ever laid aside: he therefore would

support the motion.

Right hon. J. Cuffe replied to some observations which had fallen from Mr. Hardy. He was equally anxious for the dignity of the house, but conceived that the subject now appeared in a light very different from what it had appeared in before—It now came recommended from the throne, and of course was entitled to a greater degree of respect. He thought too that as the people had changed their opinion on this subject the house

might, and ought do fo too.

As to the measure proposed, he thought it would add to the inconsistency the hon. gentleman was asked of, were they to adopt it. And he consessed, he thought such proposition seemed rather intended to embarrass government than really to serve the catholics. It would be more friendly to the catholics to recommend gratitude to them; he, however, laughed at political gratitude; he had a stronger pledge for the good conduct of the catholics—self-interest. They were now nearly in as good a situation as he was—and, of course, would be as much interested in preserving the constitution, the peace, and good order of the country.

Col. Blaquiere was against the motion.

Sir J. Cotter had no doubt if catholics were permitted to fit in parliament, but the house would be filled with them; the majority of the electors in three provinces, confisting of catholics. To have the representation protestant, he thought was a necessary counterpoise. This motion would give them not political liberty, but power. In England, where they are fewer in number, in proportion to the mass of the people, than they are here.

here, they are not permitted to fit in parliament —and yet there they enjoy the most perfect degree of civil liberty, and were obliged to pay no more taxes than such as they pay who impose them, which was the essence of civil liberty.

If we have no established religion, he observed, we shall soon have no religion. How must that established religion be upheld? Only by giving advantages to those who profess it—and by confining to them exclusively the great offices of trust

and power.

Mr. F. Hutchinfon replied to Mr. Cuffe; he had faid the measure was propsed to embarrass government-For his own part he neither regarded one fide of the house nor the other, and he did not think that on a question of this kind an honest man would confider either fide. Another gentleman wished for gradual admission to the legislative powers-The principle was a wife one, but it might be necessary for the house to remember on what principle they were now acting-He had on former occasions said they should yield to the impressions of the public mind, and he had been told this was the language of intimidation-No man feared more than he did the displeasure of the house; but he would not blink the fituation of them and of the country—They were now, he afferted, acting as wife legislators ought, yielding to the current, which if opposed would sweep with it every thing that was antient and valuable in the constitution. He thought the measure should not be clogged by any unnecessary opposition. The time for penal laws was past. To draw inferences unfavourable to men's principles from their religious belief, was he faid the foundation of all perfecution—every thing like it must now be given up—The minister he said deserved well of his country for the bill as far as it went, yet he entreated him to grant enfranchisement in its fulest extent—It was that only that could give una-

nimity and peace to the country.

Major Hobart faid he had been called on by the last hon, gent, to admit of no penalties on men for their religious belief-The principle of the bill. he faid, was perfect equality between protestant and catholic, and when it should pass, there would remain no statute pointed against the catholic as fuch. But as long as an established religion was necessary, fo long it would be necessary that the king must be acknowledged head of the church. For his part, he thought an established religion necessary—the mischiefs resulting from the subverfion of it was evident in France—Irreligion and anarchy are inseparable, and to the existence of religion, an established religion was necessary. As to the fuddenness with which the house was about to grant the franchise, he thought the bill made their admission as gradual as possible, but he could not fee how the restitution of the franchise could be at all limited. The changing circumstances of times had made the change necessary in the fituation of the catholics—the danger of making that change had arisen from two causes-ift, the connection of the catholics with the popeadly, the fear of an union with the french. As to the first of these causes, he thought no man now entertained any ferious fear of the pope's power; and with respect to the other, he thought too well of the catholics to believe them capable of approving, in any degree, of the abominable principles or practices of France: there was, therefore, now, no danger whatever to be apprehended from them. In those counties where the population was mostly catholic, he knew that the conduct of that unhappy people was held in the highest detestation; he was forry to fay that in fome other

other parts of the kingdom, where the majority of the people were not catholics, this was not the case; but, on the contrary, some men had gone fo far as to imitate their fraternities.

He concluded by declaring that he had brought in the bill in the firm belief that a religious effabliffment was necessary, and on that ground he

would support the clauses of it.

Mr. Vandeleur was against the motion, 'till the fate of the 40s. freeholds should be finally settled. Mr. Egan supported the motion in a speech of

confiderable length.

Mr. Wesley was for the bill, but was adverse to the motion, on the ground, that it was rather fitted to produce dif-union than unanimity, as re-

commended from the throne
Mr. Hamilton supported the motion, because
without adopting the clause, the privilege the house granted to the catholics, would be a mockery-pretending to give choice, and at the same time preventing them from chooling the man they

may be attached to.

A member thought the admission of the catholics into the conflitution, was ratified by the conflitution which called them, and by the parlia-ment, which, by taking up this bill, had pledged itlelf to the measure. The bill went far, but not far enough; for the circumflances of the country made it necessary the work of union should be finished. It was ridiculous, he faid, after adopting the principle of this bill, to suppose they might not lit in parliament with the utmost fafety. house professed they had no dishdence in the catholic elector; will not he choose the whom he can confide? Why then ought not the house to do so?—If the lowest of the catholics were thought worthy of confidence, why should the wealthy be diffrusted, who had every thing that

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As to the inconsistancy of changing so often, the changes of the public mind would justify—the liberality of the times makes frequent changes necessary—since that may be found inadequate to-morrow, which yesterday was thought too much. He then stated how the catholics would reason against the liberality of the house, if they should perceive that they were liberal in granting to the catholics whatever did not trench on their own privileges, but that of the monopoly of those they were firmly tenacious.

Mr. Brooke said he thought the admission of the forty shilling popula freeholders went to a complete surrender of the protestant interest: after that it was very immaterial what further was granted, and therefore he would vote in support

of the motion.

Mr. Coote faid, that if the motion introduced by the hon. member had a tendency to subvert the religious eltablishment, there could not be a doubt but that the civil establishment must fall together with it—and when your religious establishment shall be overturned, farewell to your liberties-liberty and property will then be idle and delutive names, as they are now in France. In the race that has been run, and the contest for concession to the catholics during this fellion, it was difficult for any individual, firmly and unalterably attached the protestant interest, to know how to steer. There was in politics, as in a fever, a paroxyim that bewilders the imagination, He was, however, impressed with one fixed and unalterable opinion, that if Ireland is to preferve its connexion with great Britain, a protestant kingdom, the power and government of Ireland must continue in the hands of protestants: this was the policy of the revolution; for this purpole the spirit and principles Nn 2

principles of the revolution went to the confirming and establishing in Ireland a protestant government. If the motion of the hon, gentleman was acceded to, and the catholics admitted to feats in your house, there is an end to your protestant religion, government, and establishments—they all will be buried in one grave. He was aware that the bill did not inflantly give into the hands of the catholics, the Irish government but it furely does extend to them very great power and weight in the country. He hoped and trusted that the catholics would be completely fatisfied by the consequence and power they would derive by this bill; and if they should be so, and that the question would be at rest, he would not oppose his judgement to the wishes of so many genglemen as countenanced the bill, and who had great character and large property at stake; that therefore he had rather yield to the current running fo strong for the bill, than resist it. If, however, nothing less than having feats in parliament will content the catholics, and to have in their hands the government of the kingdom, he trusted, that the union and strength of the protestants would relift fuch expectations. Fully fatisfied, he was, that if the protestant interest was disposed to fland forward, it had ample strength to protect itfelf, that the clause in the bill which extends to the lower orders of the catholics a right of voting he objected to, because he knew from his own obfervation and experience of elections, that the depravity of the low and indigent electors was one of the greatest evils of the constitution, and which loudly called for, and demanded a remedy; to increase the number would not eradicate the evil, and if the conflitution is wounded—it is owing to the voluntary and complicated corruption of the lower orders of people voting at elections.

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Mr. Jackson was for a total emancipation of the catholics—of course approved of the bill as far as it went, and was friendly to the motion.

Sir B. Roche was against this motion, but warmly approved of what he faid, was called major Ho-

bart's bill.

Mr. Hancock expressed great happiness at participating with the catholics the bleffings of the constitution-he thought they deserved every thing parliament could confer on them, and would therefore support the motion of his hon. friend in the fullest manner.—By this means he hoped our admirable constitution would be preserved, and transmitted to posterity, complete and inviola-

Mr. Ruxton felt it very unpleasant to oppose a motion of this kind, but the consequences of agreeing to it were fo multifarious, that he was not prepared to adopt it. At a time when we are threatened with war from France, and with domestic feditions, he should hardly be brought to venture the established government of the country for anarchy, under the pretext of completing catholic freedom.-The catholics themfelves, he was fure would not hazard the overthrow of all establishment, merely to acquire some political power—they would wait till these conceffions might be made without any danger.

The bill, he faid granted only by guarding every grant by a proviso; it granted the franchise, but provided they should not elect the men of their choice, and it granted military offices when it was known that no catholic would enter into the fervice fince he could not be changed to the English establishment-Would the catholics forget the religion for which they have been fuffering during a century? would they not endeavour to promote its interest? and were the house ready to

furrender

furrender every thing into their hands?—every clause of the bill, he said, shewed it to be impolitic, and that it neither gave security nor satisfaction.

Mr. Annesley said it was absurd to keep the catholics from parliament if the bill passed. He asked whether any man would say from authority that the catholics would be satisfied with the bill? If not he should think the clause necessary.

Mr. Sankey was a friend to the motion. He had confidence in the catholics or he would not agree to grant them any thing, and when so much was about to be granted, it would be absurd to with-

hold any thing.

He stated the effect of keeping them out of parliament to be that they would return men of no religion who would not scruple to take the oaths, and who would act only as hirelings. The house were now only moved, that the clause might be put in a fituation of being debated, and the right hon. gentleman [Mr. Hobart] who opposed it, had given the best reason in the world why it should—when he said it was necessary the king fhould be acknowledged head of the church, and that this declaration would exclude catholics. He knew that the catholics had not fo ftrong an objection to this oath, as they were supposed to have. fince it only went to declare the king bead of the church by law established, which no catholic doubted.

Sir Boyle Roche.—I am at a loss which most to admire the great abilities of the hon. gentleman who made the motion, or his generous sentiment. I am not however disposed to add any new matter to the present bill, least it should stop it in its next stage, and by such means lose it altogether.

The bill, in its present form, I think a total emancipation of the catholics, as far as it is con-

fiftent

fiftent with the constitution; and as that has been always my land-mark, the present bill has my

entire approbation.

Every person who knows me, must be sensible how much I have at heart the interest of the roman catholics; I should act against my nature should not that be the case; I am descended from them, and my nearest and dearest connexions are amongst them.

The fituation of the public affairs feem at prefent to be fo critical and extraordinary, that it calls upon every man to declare his political opinion; and, with leave of the house, I shall fay

a few words on that subject.

I am descended from a noble family in this country, who loft high honours and extensive properties for their loyalty and a support of their principles: and as principle is the ground upon which every man is right, I think myfelf honored in being descended from a race of loyal and honest men; they facrificed every thing that was dear in this life to support a race of kings, in their time, to whom they swore fealty and allegiance:-I, their remainder, will declare before God and the world, that was I now in possession of the properties and honors of my ancestors. I would risque them all for my gracious fovereign on the throne, and his family.

I think myfelf not fingular in this way of thinking, for I believe that it is the natural disposition of all the catholics in Ireland. Let us look back and fee how that order of men have conducted themselves from the year 1688 to the year 1778? If they have any enemies they must acknowledge that during that period there is no instance in the hiftory of mankind, of any people having fuffered fuch a degree of violence and oppression as they did; and what must now seem wonderful to every

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man, that a race of brave people had (under fuch cruel circumstances as have been related) conducted themselves peaceably and quietly; and though both in the year 1715 and 1745, when England and Scotland were in rebellion against the present family upon the throne, and when the emissaries of the exiled family came into this country with promifes of restoration of liberty and property, provided they went into rebellion against that family, they to a man rejected it, and there was no period in which that people conducted themselves more amenable to the laws and the magistracy. The earl of Chesterfield, being then lord lieutenant, had been often heard to fay, "that the catholics of this kingdom had conducted themselves more peaceably than any other description of men," and reported them as fuch to the then government of England. Therefore, Sir, if we are to judge of what is to happen, by the past, we have every reason to have the utmost confidence in the loyalty and peaceable conduct of the catholic people; and we will act wifely to attach fuch a body of men to the strength of the protestant interest of this kingdom.

Sir J. Blaquiere thought the object of the clause was in fact conceded already in granting the elective franchise. He urged the argument of inconfistency in almost unanimously rejecting last year an humble petition, and this year deliberating on placing them in both houses of parliament.—If the clause were introduced, he thought it would probaby induce the loss of the bill.—The friends of the clause therefore would counteract themselves;—and might by such an inadvertence bring upon the country one of the most fatal calamities.

that could at this moment befall it.

Mr. Curran followed, and in a speech of nearly two hours in length, ranged through a wide extent tent of argument with his usual happiness. His wit in many parts shone with that brilliancy, and cut with that point for which he is so much admired. His first business was to resute the arguments, and reprobate the illiberality with which an hon. gentleman had attacked the catholic petition on a former night, which he did in a very warm and able manner.

He then supported the general and complete emancipation, by shewing that the period was now arrived whence the catholics, being worthy of freedom, MUST become free. He stated the progress of their spirit from the state of servile humiliation to which it had been reduced by the legislation of Ireland, which seemed intent only on expunging the image of God from the minds of his creatures, in the expatrition of their fellow fubjects, to the full grown vigour which it has latterly exhibited.—He urged strongly the justice of restoring to them what they had unjustly been deprived of, and proved it necessary to Irish liberty, and to the connexion of the country with He flated the probable happy effects of their emancipation on the kingdom at large, and shewed that liberty no where, and consequently not with them, could begin gradually. Liberty might fade indeed under chronic deterioration, but infancy and adolescence, were unknown to her-Liberty could never be gradually communicated by a legislature, because no popular assembly could estimate the progress of the mind; the only criterion of the people's capability of freedom was when their pulse beat high under unequal preflure: and this fymptom was found in the catholics. He ridiculed with a great deal of point the paltry concessions of last session—as he did also the manifesto of the corporation of Dublin, and refuted all the objections that had been urged again

against the total enfranchisement of the catholics.

—We do not pretend to give an idea of his speech, and we exceedingly lament our inability

to lay it at length before our readers.

Immediately on Mr. Gurran's fitting down, fir J. Blaquiere got up, and with fome acrimony obferved, that the hon, gentleman had mistaken him, and mistated the fact. That the amendment proposed may possibly prove a most fatal calamity; for it might fail by an unfeafonable or ill-managed application, and by that means bring the country to the utmost wretchedness. The motion, he obferved, goes to both houses. However warmly it may receive the concurrence of this house, it may, however, not meet with the same reception in the upper house. In the next place, in regard to the administration, he never suggested that the bill, or any clause of it, rested its fate on that. Yet, by the representation of the hon, gentleman who fpoke laft, it might be supposed he had himfelf infinuated, it might come from that quarter. He was not fo foolish as to suppose, even for a moment they were to wait for the dictates of administration relative to what was left to the free discussion of that house. He had too high a respect for the house to harbour any such idea, and should be happy to congratulate on his laudable zeal in promoting the welfare of the country, without building his own merit in fo doing on the mifrepresentation of another.

Mr. Bradshaw observed, that even had he been blessed with the gift of exciting laughter on every subject, yet he was far from considering this the time or occasion for indulging that happy gift of humour and raillery, when a business of the most important nature demanded the most serious attention of the house. He looked on the bill, he said, as unfavourable to the clergy: and this was

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the principle on which he would object to it. He was not, however, to be understood as objection to the whole bill, but to some particular parts only. He looked on the bill, as brought in by a few. not as the refult of a mature deliberation fanctioned by the united voice of any body of men. The substance of the bill had, he confessed, met with many advocates at the other fide of the water: but it was because they had not considered it. Government heard the roman catholic subjects of this kingdom complain of certain disabilities and grievances; and thought the people were to be appealed by removing, as much as could with prudence and propriety be done, the cause of those complaints. He would, however venture to pledge himself that government never had any idea that that house would have carried its indulgence to fuch a length, as it feemed at prefent difposed to do. He wished not to be thought to envy his roman catholic brethren any concessions he thought they had a right to obtain, or that could confidently with their own advantage, and the fafety of both parties be granted to them. He had a property in this country, and with that property he would live or die: and this circumstance even alone was fufficient to overturn any colour of fuspicion, that he could be disaffected to the catholic cause. He could not, however, repress his apprehensions of the consequences of granting the catholics an unlimited participation of all advantages civil and religious. The church is peffessed of immense territorial power; if influence is founded upon property, no man can deny that influence; that influence goes along with that power into whatever hands it shall happen to fall.

Chan. Ex. adverted on the hon. gen. [Mr. Curran's] mathematical definition of the right line

of conduct which every wife legislature ought to purfue in deciding on any important question .-He must, he said, indeed allow it to be a very wife observation.—But, let the hon. gentleman's motives be what they may, he thought the prefent a question on which every wise man ought to be very cautious how he should decide. They are only local circumstances that can at all justify the measure. The hon. gent. had, he observed, pretty largely stated the connexion of this country with England. I fay, Sir, we ought to extinguish that connexion, whenever it shall appear that it is injurious to Ireland. If your connexion with England was protestant, and that this principle of union cements the interests of both countries, should England step forward and propose to relinquish this connexion, would it, I ask, promote the welfare of Ireland to accept the offer?—I am fure it would not.—But you wished to relinquish it, and faw it was your interest to do so-you will no doubt acquiesce in this proposal in toto. The disposition of government, and of the servants of government, to afford every relief to his majesty's roman catholic subjects, is neither an occasional or temporary expedient. No man can reasonably have any objection nor opposition to a set of men who contribute fo largely to the necessities of the state, and are such useful members of society.-But although we may not differ in other respects, yet we have a right to differ in politics. In fact, the connexion between Ireland and England refts upon one or two principles-protection on the one fide, and happiness on the other. I say, sir, that English protection and Irish unanimity are the principles of prosperity to both-" God has joined them, then no man can divide them."----We ought, therefore, on the present subject to lay aside all collateral considerations. If British and Irith

Irish independence is founded on their union, as it most certainly is, you can have no object in proposing new plans of reformation; unless you wish to set up a school for the fabrication of governments. If you take the bill in the same point of view that I do, you must take it just as you find it, or else reject it altogether. But, if gentlemen, were disposed to make experiments, he faw no reason why they should not be made in public as well as in private. Yet he could not help being fully perfuaded, that if the prefent difcustions had not revived the distinctions between catholics and protestants, they would have died of themselves, and very few years would have done them completely away; for he was convinced Ireland is the most liberal country on earth. It is a gross mistake to suppose the prosperity of Ireland to come into competition with that of England; for the existence of England, he would affirm, depends on its union with Ireland. He only objected to any alterations that should be proposed to be made in the bill.

The electors, he faid, must influence the elected —the bill was conciliatory to both:—on it, in its present form, depends the prosperity of England and Ireland in numerical matter to be had as an numerical matter.

Phat as an numan intitutions were perverted and abused, gentlemen ought to take it in its best point of view.—It tends to strengthen England by Irish connexion, to strengthen Ireland by unanimity. But he would, at the same time say, that he could accommodate himself with as good a grace as any man to any change that might take place. He thought, however, experiments in politics always dangerous; and would be so now in particular, if they lead to disunion instead of unanimity. His principal objection for making such experiments was, at present, only to the time, which

which was by no means ripe for such hazards.— But if gentlemen thought otherwise, he would be amongst the foremost to embark in any measure that should appear to forward the public weal.

Mr. W. B. Conyngham adverted with some feverity to certain clauses of the catholic petition to his majesty; first, in complaining that three millions of people in this country were not represented. That charge, he faid, did not deferve an anfwer. Another charge he objected to when stated a partial grievance, viz: their being excluded from the benefit of purchasing lands, &c. But he felt not for catholics alone in this respect; he must feel for protestants, the lower orders of whom were fubject to the fame grievance not less that the same description of the former. He objected to Mr. Curran's arrangement in describing the state of the union between England and Ireland, and of the catholies under the feveral administrations; he did not like his progressive motion from administration to administration. He would not go beyond the revolution, which he confidered the stand likely to promote and secure unanamity between the different orders of the community.or both counteres ramarks on the relative fituation concluded with a negative to the hon. Mr. Knex's amendment.

An hon, member afcribed the miseries of this country to a want of UNANIMITY.—Would vote for the bill as it stood.—He must observe in favour of this country that it has a church establishment, which it concerned gentlemen to be attentive to. He could not, he said, avoid feeling some pain and indignation at the many injurious reslections and slanderous aspersions thrown out on Ireland daily, in the English house of commons and in English news-papers, relative to our admi-

nistration

gentlemen had spoken so largely in behalf of 3,000000, he would say a word in savour of 1000000 of protestants—" Is it not necessary to support their interest in church and state, as well as that of the catholics?"—He then expressed some alarm on account of the vast proportion of electors that must consequently take place on granting the elective franchise to the catholics; and at the danger he apprehended our church establishment must be exposed to from that side, on account of the vast influence the romish clergy possess over the laity. He had however no objection to voting for the bill, only so far as it tended to a full and unlimited participation of rights and privileges.

Mr. D. B. Daly joined in one or two parochial meetings. It was at a time he was not sufficiently acquainted with the spirit of those meetings.— As to his own conduct, he hoped he could set any oblique remarks that might be made on that occasion, at defiance. That the event has spoke that he did heretofore join against extending the franchise to the catholics so far as others have done: but that perceiving the vast rapidity with which the protestant inhabitants in his neighbourhood were reconciled to that indulgence, he would not be so averse to the full extent of it as he had been; yet he was not so far persuaded as not to adhere to the limitation; and of course voted

against the hon. Mr. Knox's clause.

Mr. Bushe said, he found two things in respect to the bill which required to be treated with great caution; first, the success of the bill; secondly, the effect of the bill after it is passed. That another house had as good a right to discuss the bill as that house had.—Begged the friends of the bill would consider well what steps they were taking

—had heard many fentiments that night about gradual emancipation. He did not call it a gradual, but a complete and perfect emancipation.—
That the same distinction admitted on the principle of the bill had been adopted in all free states, and mentioned some instances in Athens, Crete and Rome, as well as in several modern states. He by no means considered perfect communication of power necessary to perfect liberty. He then recommended to gentlemen to propose a payment out of the treasury for the catholic clergy—otherwise that body will assuredly in this kingdom possess not equal advantages with protestants, but superior power.

Mr. Ogle declared he would vote against the measure as long as the bill remained in the house.

Mr. Conolly gave his most decided approbation to the motion proposed by the hon. gent. at the other side [meaning Mr. Knox] and expressed an equal wish to their cause. He mentioned what he considered only a slight objection to their sirst mode of proceeding, which, however, was not

worth infifting on.

Mr. Dunn rose and read a clause of the catholic bill, stating their disability—called such a distinction of his majesty's subjects into two bodies a garble.—They had no objection, he said, to the granting legislature to the catholic commons, but had made no provision for the peer, who does not receive by this bill so much as the clamorous forty shilling freeholder. But the measure that had already come forward was not an ultimate measure. That the house only put the bill into a course of debate before the committee.

Mr. Grattan—I have spoken already to the whole of the question, so much as to tire this house. I have nothing to add, except it be to repeat my creed on this subject, which is to give the roman catholics

catholics every thing, and to put them on the footing of other differers. Under this impression, I vote for the bill, because it gives them considerable advantages; and for the motion, because it removes one of the clauses of the bill that attempts to limit those advantages.

Mr. Maxwell voted against a total emancipation, and of course against the motion of the hon. gent. on the other side of the house. [Mr. Knox].

Mr. Know stood up to reply to a right hon, gent. from the other fide, who made fome animadvertions on his motion; he faid he would be brief, because the arguments used against his motion were rather personal than against the motion. He observed as to the figure of overloading the cart, applied to him by the right hon. gent. he had rather do so than be the miserable garron to drag that load along. That was the first time he ever heard the furmife started in that house, that a motion would not pass in the upper house. If gentlemen felt, as he did, they would fee no alternative; at a time when the arms of our enemies, as well as a militant philosophy, threaten to subvert our constitution. "Shall we, fir, invite the catholics to the threshold of this house, and then that the door against them?—shall we not rather unite the loyalists of the fouth to the republicans of the north?- shall we not call on them in the name of that venerable constitution which we all adore, and of those laws which we all revere?"-He should not, he said, ask them to vote for him or his measure—But he would ask them to vote for themselves, for their loyalty, for their families .-He then made a few remarks on the principle of his motion.

Mr. Cuffe replied—his meaning was, that he would rather injure the government, than ferve it at the expence of the public—he then replied to

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studion; they d clared, that when the words of the act were buying, felling, working. He avowed but the act itself; he meant no more.

Mr. Begwell warmly supported the clause as enforcing more effential advantages on the roman catholies than it is intended by the whole of the

present bill to grant them, be of both omen used

Att. Gen faid, that that act in his fense was intended to encourage an increase of strangers, the corporate towns being but thinly inhabited. He thought, and does fill think it a question of as doubtful confequence as any other before the house. For it may turn out that a catholic, fettling in fuch a place, may be entitled to all the immunities and advantages which a native franchifed protestant wouldside the offer of the continuous and out

The clause after some amendments was agreed na pulpor of the day's as had obtained leaves to

The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill.

Mr. DAY in the Chair.

ingreat him peaks near a finding out of the Mr. Trenchrose, he faid, with a wish to expedite the bill, and to remove some projudices which had been industriously spread. It had been confidently afferted, that if the roman catholies were not granted all that protestants enjoy-if any distinction or refervation was made, they would not be contented. If he had entertained the least idea that such would be their conduct, they never would have had his support; but since the bill was broughtin, and had been printed and publiffied he had converfed with many of the most respeciable gentlemen of the roman catholice religion, particularly from his own part of the country, and they every one approved the bill, and expressed their approbation in terms of the highest loyalty to their king, and the strongest attachment Pp2

to the constitution; they declared, that when the bill which they acknowledged conferred great benefits upon them should pass, they would retire to their homes silled with gratitude to the government of the country, and to parliament; and they desired him to make this public declaration in their name, and to add, that their suture conduct should manifest the sense they entertained of so great a favour. He therefore held it, that any gentleman who, in their name, should hold a different language, and say they were not satisfied, was not a friend to the roman catholics of Ireland.

The first clause of the bill being read, the at-

the bill more fully to effect its object.

Mr. Osberne then proposed an amendment to the purport of the clause he had obtained leave to introduce. After a tedious conversation, his amendment was rejected, and he was advised to

introduce a substantive clause.

Mr. Alexander, (of Derry) said, he admired the ingenuity of gentlemen in sinding out clauses, which gave them opportunities of making slaming speeches, and shewing their mighty zeal for the roman catholics; but surely there never was a more unnecessary clause than that so warmly insisted upon by the hon, gentleman; for he would defy any man to shew a single instance where any artiscer had been prevented from working, buying, or selling, in any borough or town corporate.

Doctor Duigenan said he had to propose some amendments which, as they went to the whole merits of the bill, would necessarily demand some time for discussion. He had upon the introduction of the bill pretty fully expressed his opposition to it; he had given his reasons for that

opposition,

opposition, and to those reasons he adhered, notwithstanding the animadversions of some gentlemen and the mistatements of others: those animadversions and mistatements he was now ready to refute, and he trusted he should be heard in spite of the roar of political projectors, or the slimsy orations of those who trade in declamation, men who stamp, and storm and rage, with frantic gestures and dishevelled hair, like the Pythian priestess of old—or affright their audience with convulsive screams and distorted features like the gypsies of modern times.

After this exordium he went at large into the bill, and concluded with moving the following amendment, "That no roman catholic shall vote in any county for any member to sit in parliament unless such roman catholic shall have a freebold of 201: a year value in said county, or in any borough, unless he have a freehold of 20.1 a-year, (any where in the kingdom) or is possessed in the

perty to the amount of 1000l."

In the course of his speech the doctor had declared that if the protestant interest was surrendered to the roman catholics, as by this bill it would be, an union with England would be the necessary consequence; the protestants would have no refuge but in an union—and rather than be the slave of the roman catholics, he would himself be the man to propose an union—[Mr. Egan here interrupting him]—

The Speaker rose in his place, and said he would recommend it to the hon, gentleman not to interrupt the member while speaking, unless he committed a breach of order; but while he was advancing a political opinion, no man had a right

to call him to order.

Doctor

Doctor Duigenan again faid, he would in the event of that bill fly to England for refinge; and if he could not be free here, he would fue to be the fellow-subject of the Englishman, who valued liberty, and respected the protestant religion—He

would be the man to propole an union.

Mr. Pery laid he had been to perfonally alluded to in the speech of the learned doctor, that he felt himfelf under a necessity of trespassing on the committee. He acknowledged himself obliged to the doctor for his professions of respect to him and his family; but he had hoped when he was stating his arguments, he would have frated them entire. and not partially .- Mr. Pery faid he had flated as a reason for the favourable opinion he entertained of the roman catholics their convention which conduct was in his mind peculiarly difcreet and laudable. At the close of that convention they had framed a petition neither false nor treasonable—and to complete their propriety of behaviour, they had published a circular letter to to the people of their communion, recommending a peaceable demeanor and obedience to the laws He had also stated that a great change had taken place in the protestant mind, which was the fact. For all thele reasons, (which he had flated as a plain country gentleman without trick of profession or artifice, he thought it right to support the present bill, and he would not be turned aside from his intention by a bigotry worthy the middle ages; or by the hope of favour from any dignified class of men whatfoever.

Mr. Hobart—After what has fallen from the hon. gentleman, it becomes necessary for me to to trouble the house for a short time. By the hon. gentleman's amendment it is proposed that the elective franchise shall be conferred on such roman catholics only, as possess freeholds of twen-

ty pounds a-year; or who in boroughs possess one thousand pounds a-year. Sir, it has ever struck me, that when the same political expediency which made it necessary to deprive the roman exholics of the elective franchise should no longer exist, that privation should cease with it—and that when their principles should no longer be dangerous to the protestant establishment of Ireland, they should be restored to the enjoyment of positical rights upon the broad basis of equality. If this opinion is not well-founded, we had better not grant them any at all; if we cannot conside in them we had better withhold every privilege; but if we can conside in them—as I do most perfectly—let us grant with generosity and without limitation.

The hon. gentleman has stated, that many of the names which are subscribed to the roman catholic petition, may be found in the roll of the united Irishmen.—I am forry for it, sir—I am forry that the name of any of his majesty's loyal subjects should be found in that roll; but surely this is not a reason for continuing disqualifications upon the whole body of roman catholics, because some of them are disaffected; if so, it would at any time be in the power of a few malignant men to draw distress and punishment upon the rest of their community; the hon. gentleman must then shew that the body of the roman catholics in general are disaffected, or his argument has no weight.

The hon, gentleman had charged his majesty's ministers in England with folly and with treachery: I will take the liberty to say, that if in this time of general danger, they turned their thoughts to those of his majesty's subjects, who had at all times manifested themselves steadfast friends of the constitution, it was no very great mark of their

folly;

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folly; and if the roman catholic had for a feries of years, and under the most trying circumstances proved himself that friend, and if by granting him at this time to much favours as the house should think proper, and no more—he could be united with his protestant fellow subject in supporting that conflitution against all its enemies: the minister who recommended such measures as would promote that union, had very little cause

to fear the charge of treachery.

I will fay, fir, that the favours proposed are warranted and induced by the conduct of parliament towards the roman catholics. Parliament have at feveral times manifested their approbation of the principle of the bill, by repealing feveral of the popery laws, and by granting roman catholics the right of acquiring property, which when acquired, naturally brings with it the claim to that influence in the flate-which property

should possels.

The hon, gentleman has stated what was done in king James's parliament as an argument against granting roman catholics the fame privileges that they were permitted to retain even after the revolution.-Does he forget, fir, that that parliament acted as the parliament of a kingdom feparated and difunited from her political connexion with England? If he wishes to shew, that when difunited from England, the parliament of Ireland would act as that of James II. acted, no one will deny it; we all know that the fafety of the protestants of Ireland depends upon our connexion with England; we know till Ireland has a feparate king the forfeited property can never be re-assumed, the protestant interest can never be overthrown, and therefore we take every measure which can tend to ftrengthen the connexion with England. Another

Another hon- gentleman has faid, that it is vain for us to think of with-holding what the bill retains if we grant what the bill confers.—I cannot agree with that hon. gentleman, for, by what we are granting, the protestant interest can never be injured while we have the security of a protestant

king.

An hon, gentleman has charged the British minister with a design in promoting this measure of creating division and animosity in this country: to the conviction of every man who hears it, the charge refutes itself-for if ever there was one measure more likely to promote conciliation and unanimity than another, 'tis this very measure. But if the British minister wished for discord and strife, he could not find a better receipt to effect it than encouraging old prejudices. So long indeed as the present protestant system was to be maintained, and the catholic was rendered hopeless of enjoying the benefits of the constitution, it was eafy for a minister to promote disunion; but when he takes the certain method of conciliating and uniting his majefty's protestant and roman catholic subjects in the common benefits and common interests of the constitution—the charge of promoting discord becomes ridiculous.

Mr. Ponfonby.—Having on a former night spoken my sentiments so fully on this subject, I should not say a word now but for some strong allusions to my arguments, which have fallen from some learned and honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house. As to what has been said by a learned gentleman (Dr. Duigenan) about the conduct of the English catholics, in first proposing and afterwards refusing to take a particular oath of allegiance, I do not know how the sact is; but I suppose from his usual accuracy he is sounded in the affertion. But is it fair to argue from the acts

Qq

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of any body of men in another country, that we are to act with rigour towards three-fourths of the people in this? The catholics of this country have already given, and do still offer the strongest and most facred pledges of their loyalty and attachment to the government and conftitution; and for my own part, I do most firmly believe they are incapable of the baseness of deceiving their king, or their protestant fellow subjects. learned gentleman has charged me with faying, I would rather be the flave of the Irish catholic than the defendant of a British minister: I used no fuch word as flave—I did fay then, and I now fay publickly, I would rather fubmit to the fuperior flate of any body of Irishmen, than be subfervient to the power of a British minister, or become the dupe of those men who would seek to fupport British superiority in this country, by dividing its inhabitants in adverse parties, and governing one through the medium of the other. It is to this conduct, fir, I expressed my abhorrence—and it is on this account I wished to convince the Irish catholic, that it was not to the generosity of an English minister, but to an Irish protestant parliament, he was to seek for favour, or repose confidence; and it was therefore, I wished to reject this bill in toto, as the measure of a British minister, and that the parliament of Ireland should vindicate its own honour, and its own juffice, by admitting the loyalty of the catholics of Ireland to a full and equal thare in the constitution of the country. It has been denied that the British minister sought by this bill to have new divisions among the people of Ireland, inflead of conciliation. But the contrary is obvious. The lord lieutenant of Ireland has ever been confidered as a cabinet minister of England—I do not know whether my lord Westmorland

morland is to be considered in that light. Through the lord lieutenant of Ireland it is that the British cabinet must be supposed to attain their knowledge of the frate of this country. The declarations of a right hon, gentleman opposite me in the last seffions of parliament, and the activity of gentlemen under the influence of government throughout the country in the course of the last summer, spoke it as the determination of government, that the catholics were not to be granted the franchife. But what opinion is to be formed of the intention of that cabinet—when the minister in this country never once intimated the smallest intention of ceding the franchise to the catholics, never once confulted the protestant gentlemen of the country upon the subject until it was intimated in the speech from the throne, and followed up by the bill of the minister now before the house? When therefore it was feen that the fervants of government first exerted every means to excite the protestant counties and corporations, to relift the claims of the catholics; and that the police party in the corporation of Dublin, were urged to fet the example to the whole kingdom, by their manifesto for protestant ascendency—and then the cabinet minister of England declares from the throne a contrary principle—and the friends of the minister in this house, are now the loudest to declare that body of people fit objects for parliamentary indulgence, whom in the last session of parliament, in the course of the summer, through the country they had denounced as men inimical to the constitution—and unfit for protestant confidence—What other conclusion can be deduced from this—but that the division of the people was the object of the British minister, who while he was using his influence with the protestants in public to refift the catholic claims, was telling the catholics

catholic in private, that it was not to the generosity of a protestant parliament he had any thing to hope—but that any favour he had to expect he must hope only through the influence of the minister in this house? Therefore it is in order to prevent in future fuch things, and to cut up by the roots all the powers and all the stratagems of the British minister for dividing the people of this country-I called upon the magnanimity of the proteflant parliament of Ireland, to give the catholic every thing it had to give with liberality and confidence,-to admit them to a full participation in the rights of the conflitution, and thus to bind their gratitude and their attachments to their protestant fellow-subjects, and teach them to contemplate their redemption in the influence of any

English minister.

Mr. Hobart-Sir, the hon. member has fo particularly alluded to me, that I feel myself called again to trefpals on the attention of the house. Sir, with respect to the motives which induced the introduction of this bill, the hon. gentleman has taken much pains to animadvert upon the conduct of administration, but his animadversions are unfounded. He has accused them of dictating to gentlemen. - Sir, there are many gentlemen of high character who have voted on this question who would despife any attempt of ministers to dictate to them; men, fir, who are above fuch ideas.—The hon, gentleman talks of men influenced by administration to fign the resolutions of grand juries against this measure, and yet they have fince under the fame influence voted for it. Sir, many of the hon. gentleman's own friends have done the fame thing, who I am fure he will not suspect of influence, and of whom I have too high an opinion to suppose they would act on

this occasion in a manner they did not think

right.

With respect to the conduct of administration, which the hon. gentleman accused of privately treating with the catholics, while they publicly spirited the protestant grand juries to oppose their claims, the charge is equally unfounded; but while he brings such charges against us, he has himself a conduct not less extraordinary, in the fastidious reserve with which he one day withholds himself from all communication whatever with the catholics, and the next he is all extravagant profusion in the indulgences he would grant them.

As to the arguments that have been thrown out of the difficulties which will arise from a great increase of the numbers to poll at elections—I do confess I feel some difficulty on the subject; but I know there are abilities in this house competent to remove the difficulty, and it may easily be effected in some future election bill. But surely, sir, so great an object as the restoration of elective franchise to the catholic body of Ireland, should not be rejected for a mere octennial inconvenience.

Mr. Blake [of Ardfry,] opposed the amendment, because it went to defeat the objects of the bill, which was to conciliate the roman catholics.

The hon. Mr. Manwell held this bill altogether the most rash, impolitic and inconsistent measure ever proposed in parliament; it went to deprive the protestant of his rights without satisfying the catholic: by it would be accomplished the destruction of that protestant ascendancy which he was sorry to see turned to ridicule in that house, even by those who had last year supported it with so much zeal and energy: it would deprive us of

the found part of the constitution and leave us to the ridiculous expedient of entrenching behind the rotten part. It gave to the roman catholic a weight of power in the state, which as men governed by the common passions, and ambitious of human nature they would not fail of converting to their own aggrandizement and to the erection of a roman catholic ascendancy on the ruins of the protestant. It had been faid, that the protestant mind on this fubject had greatly changed fince the last fession-He was ready to admit that the minds of protestant dissenters, and men of republican principles had changed, because it anfwered their views; but he was fure the minds of the protestants of the church of Ireland had not changed-on the contrary he fincerely believed they viewed the proceedings of the house in this business in the filent agony of despair, and did most ardently deprecate a measure brought into that house contrary to their consent, at the omnipotent fiat of a British minister, who by this bill affected to fay, he would raze the penal code with the ground and out of its ruins erect a barrier for the defence of his influence in this country. The bill shewed the protestant he was betrayed and the catholic he was not trufted: and thus it kept up that principle of division in this country which it had always been the policy of English ministers to support. He reproved the vanity of both fides of the house in bidding against each other for catholic favour, and he was confident the catholic would more highly respect their old and fleady friends who yielded with caution to their claims, than those who opposed them on all former occasions, and were now for rashly granting every thing to their passions, without any circumfpection or regard to confequences.-He accused the framers of the bill with betraying the protestants of Ireland, and he regretted the miffortune

fortune of Ireland, that those who had most sway in the government had no stake in the country—that having no property in the state-vessel, they might when they chose abandon the helm, and leave the unfortunate crew to the mercy of the storm.

Hon. Mr. Stewart objected to the clause sthat granting the franchise], because he thought it was neither fafe to the conflitution, nor calculated to The clause went to create such a promote union. number of freeholders as would make the electors of some counties 100,000. It would, in such a case, be nearly impossible to hold county elections at all. The concession would not fatisfy the catholics, because it did not give them, at the prefent, any confiderable share of political power, though it gave them, what, at a future day, when a reform should take place, would enable them to attain whatever elfe they might think proper. The bill gave to the catholics the majority of the constituency of the kingdom; consistently, therefore, the whole superstructure of the government should be made catholic; if not, there would be the abfurdity of a protestant superstructure standing on a catholic base.

He lamented the religious diffentions that existed in which this country, numbers being all at one side, and every quality for good government

on the other.

He stated two reasons on which the exclusion of a body of men from political power may be justified, 1st, when it would be inconsistent with the established government, they should have the power;—2d, when there were two contending parties.—As to the first, the catholics, he thought, were not, could not be friendly to a protestant church establishment, which he considered as one of the chief props of the throne. He differed from

from major Hobart on the fafety of these concessions, so long as we should have a protestant king; for what power could the crown possess, if the legislative assembly should be catholics, and have

a power of refusing the supplies.

The fecond reason, also, he conceived strongly to apply to the catholics;—for the struggle was now between them and the protestants for political power.—Let only the apple of contention be thrown between them, and a contest will be excited which could never have existence if the pow-

er remained vested in one party.

A confusion of the ideas of political and of civil rights had been very common throughout the discussion of this bill—civil rights the catholics were in possession of, and political rights cannot be the peculiar possession of any—he exemplished England, in which there were nine millions of protestants and yet only about 150,000, had votes—their political power was confined to few, and thus it might always be exerted with better effect.

Mr. D. Latouche-Sir, I have fat here now above thirty years, as independent a man as any that fits in any house of parliament.-I belong not to administration, nor never shall; I belong not to opposition, nor never shall: I vote with both when I think they are acting for the public good, and I vote against both when they are not doing so. I fit here under the controul alone, of perhaps a very weak and erroneous understanding; but I will affirm a well intentioned and upright one. This I have always confidered to be doing my duty, as an honest member of parliament, and as an honest man, -and whilft I do fo, I as little fear three million of men making a demand, which I am determined to relift, as I hould the most contemptible individual, who might have dared to throw out an intimidation. Sir, I have lived my whole

whole life long in habits of intercourse and friendthip with the roman catholics of Ireland, and whenever I have been fortunate enough to have had an opportunity of ferving them, I never made a distinction between roman catholic and protestant. I possess some valuable interests in the city and county of Dublin, and in two other counties of Ireland, where I found a large roman catholic tenantry; -I have never diffurbed a man of them. I have voted for every relaxation of the popery laws, and for every benefit conferred upon the roman catholics of Ireland, fince ever I have had a feat in this house; and if any thing still remains to be done, necessary for their comfort and happinels. I am ready to give my feeble support to it; but, fir, I here declare, that whenever they bring forward any measure, that may possibly tend to trench upon the protestant ascendancy and our happy constitution in church and state, I shall refift it; particularly, I do fay, that I shall not vote for an unqualified elective franchise to be granted to the roman catholics; nor for their having a feat in this house, because I think that would not only tend to subvert, but would actually be subversive of both our religion and our laws.—Sir, I have watched with heart felt fatisfaction, the rifing prosperity of this country, and the more so as I faw the roman catholic walking hand in hand with the protestant in that profperity; but forry am I now to find that the conduct of misled and mistaken men, has interrupted that prosperity; for fir, the interruption of prosperity is hazarding, if not endangering its lofs. Sir, I well know, and I af-fert it as a fact, that those dangerous doctrines of reformation, and innovation, so carefully diffeminated through this country, for this some time patt, by a certain description of-speculative men. have most materially injured, both the landed and commercial

commercial interests of Ireland. Sir, they have given a very deep wound indeed to the credit of this country, and I am persuaded, that unless something be done to put a stop to their progress, they will be attended with serious and manifold mischiefs to Ireland. I shall trespass no surther on your patience, nor on that of the house, but shall now sit down, only reserving to myself a liberty of reply should I think myself called upon; and for the present shall only say, that I have never heard neither within or without those walls a single argument, that shews me the necessity of this mea-

R. Hon. John Foster faid, when a bill is introduced into this house for changing the constitution under which we have lived in happiness and profperity, and under which we have feen this kingdom gradually rife to a flate of affluence, and to an extent of trade and manufacture, of freedom and independence, beyond the most fanguine expectation of its warmest advocates; when this change has been fuggested to this kingdom from abroad, without any internal cause requiring its introduction, at a time of the most perfect content and unanimity, religious animolities at reft, and every man contributing his industry and exertions to the public weal-little as he was in the habit of speaking, he could not forbear to request the indulgence of the house while he should deliver his fentiments on fo great a fubject. However, before he entered into it, he would notice fome of the transactions of last summer; this he wished to have avoided, but the manner in which the conduct of grand juries had been mentioned, by two or three gentlemen in that house, made it absolutely necessary for him, and he would say their conduct had not only been proper, but neceffary and perfectly constitutional. Soon

Soon after the rifing of parliament, last year, and after this house had almost unanimously rejected the petition of the catholics, for granting a qualified franchife, a letter figned Edward Byrne, had been circulated with a very fuspicious secrecy, but was however publicly known before the fummer affizes. This letter was full of fedition, he thought fo from the moment he first faw it, and he thought so still. It told the catholics they were flaves, there can be no flaves, if there be no tyrants. To whom did it mean that they were flaver? To the protestants, who were then pointed out to them as tyrants and oppreffors: an infinuation so notoriously false, that but for the remainder of the letter it might have paffed unnoticed. It next endeavoured to poison the catholie mind against the protestant, by afferting that roman catholic tenants were turned out of their lands to beggary to make room for protestant freeholders.—He now spoke in the hearing of the greatest part of the landed property in the kingdom, and he appealed to their knowledge whe ther fuch affertion was founded in fact, in any part of Ireland .- It was not; and he would anfwer for the county in which he lived, and which he had the honor of representing, that no man in it, made any distinction among his tenants for religious opinions, nor did he ever hear or believe, that any one catholic was ever turned out of his farm to make room for a protestant. The letter with a view to further inflammation, tells them, they are not secure of an impartial administration of justice, thereby suggesting, that both grand and petty juries were so bigotted, so forgetful of their oaths, and magistrates so corrupt, that no impartial justice could be expected from them, and that a change of the law was effential to their protection. For what purpose was a **ftatement** Rr 2

statement so notoriously false made to the public. but to millead and inflame the papills, to rouse their discontent against the protestants, and fire their passions to support a parliament of their own. which it was the great object of the letter to convene, and to convene in a manner the most obnoxious, after the French model and on French principles: a convention which was to pass by the parliament, to pass by the government, and transmit a petition to the throne, by deputies of their own, -as if they would fay to his majesty, you can put no confidence in your parliament, nor in your Irish government, they have acted wrong, we only can tell you the wishes of the nation, we are the proper judges of what ought to be the constitution. Some gentlemen had asferred the legality of their convention; he pretended not to much skill in law or knowledge of the constitution, but he challenged the boldest lawyer to meet him on that ground. -He afferted it before them all, to be an illegal meeting. - It is true he had feen opinions to the contrary, one of them given by a gentleman for whom he had the highest respect, as a lawyer and a man, but the case was not fully stated, nor were the answers fully made to the queries. He would not fay that the catholics or any subjects, had not a right to meet and to form petitions by committees or deputies to his majesty, or either house of parliament. He agreed to it in the fullest extent, but this was not the plan of the convention; it was not to be affembled for one particular object, but to be a permanent body, to watch over the interests of a class of his majesty's subjects. In that respect it partook of the nature of parliament; it took upon itself the duties of parliament, and could not be justified in a country where parliament formed part of the constitution. That it embraced

embraced more objects than one is evident, for the attendance of its members was expressly stated not to be required except on important occasions.

He would add in defence of the grand juries, that by a british law passed at the restoration, no petition for a change in the conflitution shall be figned by more than a certain number, unless previously approved by the majority of the grand jury, so that grand juries have been there deemed proper bodies to consider of such petitions; and what is the declared constitution in Great-Britain. cannot be deemed unconstitutional or improper here.—The grand juries were then called on conflitutionally to notice the letter, and even as country gentlemen, they had a right, and did feel it their duty to repel its feditious flander, and to support the sense of this house, which Mr. Edward Byrne endeavoured by a counter convention to overturn. For this conduct they have been represented as impeaching all the catholics of Ireland .- They animadverted on Mr. Byrne's letter only; and I believe they all did, I know the grand jury of Louth did, diffinguish between him and the catholics at large, whose loyalty and good fense they expressly relied on for disappointing the feditious views of that letter-and here, as no man wished more than he did to avoid perfonal reflection, and as he had mentioned Mr. Edward Byrne, he felt it a justice to declare that he knew him personally to be a man of worththat if any of the laws he had ever introduced were ferviceable to the trade of this kingdom, he was much indebted for them to the clear and found information he received from that gentleman-He believed him a most fincere friend to the prosperity of Ireland, but when he acted as a political man, as a minister for others, he must

fill fay he thought him a bad politician, and must

totally condemn his conduct.

Having thus vindicated the grand juries, he returned to the question before the committee, which was the clause for granting the elective franchise to the catholics, this they demanded as a right, and many gentlemen in the course of debate had talked of it, as a restitution of a right, not a favor. If it were a right, all debate on its policy must be needless, for we could not withhold it. He would therefore consider it in that view, and he trusted he should convince them it

could not be claimed as a right.

Persons who call it a right, don't distinguish between the real right of the subject and this assumed right. Every subject has a right to be bound only by those laws, and to pay only those taxes which are agreed to by the representative body of the people;—that body is the representative of electors and non-electors equally; but the mode in which that representative body shall be appointed, and who shall share in that appointment, has ever been regulated, ascertained and restrained by law. There is an absurdity in supposing that every individual has a right to elect; if so, it extends equally to all; it was prior to all law, and the whole practice of the British constitution has been an usurpation.

An act of Henry VI. limited the right of free-holders voting to such as had forty shillings a year. If an Inherent right existed, the legislature could not have so modified and narrowed it, but they did so, and the law has been acquiesced in for centuries in both kingdoms.—If it was not a common right then, it certainly cannot become so now. The registry act he mentioned also, as an instance whereby freeholders under ten pounds, were excluded from voting, unless they perform-

ed certain conditions; and he dwelt much on the law which totally prevents the exercise of the franchise, at the time when it is most desirable and can be of most use—at the time when a vacancy takes place, with momentous subjects before parliament, and when individuals might wish to have a share in the choice. The law won't allow any man at such time to procure a power of voting, for he must be a possessor fix months before the vacancy; it even prevents his voting unless he swears that he did not procure his vote on purpose to qualify him to vote at that election.

Another instance of restraint is in the exclusion of revenue officers in England from voting, men who could not be excluded, if their right was inherent, paramount to parliament, and whom it feems hard to deprive of a franchife, for devoting their time, and their health, to the service of the publick. But if the right was inherent, why is the female part of the community excluded, they constitute one half of the people, the unmarried part of them cannot be supposed under influence, and they polless as good sense and understanding as we do. The constitutional ground, on which all these regulations proceed, is that the law restrains all those who ought in reason, to be deemed unfit to vote, either from want of found discretion, as idiots, and minors, or from being supposed subject to the influence of others, as alms-men, freeholders under forty shillings, and revenue officers, or from not giving those tests of attachment to the constitution, which the laws deem necessary for the safety of the state, before any persons should be admitted into its functions, as roman catholics, who do not acknowledge the king, to be the head of the church. In England, the catholics are not, he allowed, deprived of this right by name, but by implication, by prescribing as necessary qualifications, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, that no man might have political power, who was not attached to the constitution, both in church and state, and who did not acknowledge his majesty to be supreme in spiritual as well as civil jurisdiction.

It had been afferted and relied on, that the catholics had exercised the right of franchise, until the 1st. of Geo. II. This was not the fact, for by every research he could make, they never exercised it since the revolution, and he would prove it from the journals which gave the best evidence of the practice and the usage of parliament.

He read the resolution of the house in 1697 declaring nem, con, that papists ought to be excluded from the right of voting; he then stated, that in 1709 their right came in question, on the petition of Mr. Cusse, for Irishtown, the proceedings on which were reported specially; and the case was, that 36 papists, had offered for Mr. Cusse, and if they were admitted, he was duly elected.

The portrieve alledged, that he refused them having been informed, that they had been before refused at Ross, and had not voted for many years. One evidence produced by the petitioner believes, papists voted formerly, but not of late time. Another says, papists have been excluded from noting, since yames a time, and the fitting member's counsel, insist that the papists had not a right to vote, and had not voted since the revolution. No evidence whatsoever is produced to shew that they had ever voted, which it must be supposed, would have been done, it the fact were so. A debate ensued in the committee whether papists had votes or not, and they resolved the sitting member was duly elected, thereby declaring papists had no votes. Those records

records clearly shew the usage from the revolution, and there is not any other entry on the journals which respects the subject, or which shews

they ever had been allowed to yote.

The preamble of the 2d. of Anne, shews clearly the intent of the legislature, was to exclude them, " and for preventing papilts having it in " their power to breed diffentions, among pro-" testants, by voting at elections, of members of parliament, &c." Even the act of Geo. II. which they fay was the first that excluded them, fays in its preamble " and for the better prevent-"ing papifts from voting &c." as if it were a known fact, that they were before excluded, but fome further regulation was necessary to enforce it. All these authorities justified his affertion, that they did not exercise the franchise, since the revolution and prove the point as fully as any negative can be proved, particularly when it is confidered, that a resolution of the house of commons, in those days, directed all matters of election.

He recurred back to two instances he had omitted, copyholders and leffees for years; the former constitute a great body of the landholders of England, and the tenure is in fact perpetual; but by very little better than a fiction, they are excluded upon the idea, that nominally they hold at will. Lesses for years, are a numerous class, and there feems a great stretch, of speculative reasoning, to fay that a man possessed of land, for 999 years, is not as independent a voter, as he whose interest depends on a decayed life; almost all the bishops land, and much corporation lands can produce no voters on the same principle, being all demised for years. Some gentlemen had faid that copyholders and tenants for years, may acquire freeholds in other places, but the papift, cannot exercise

ercife the franchife without changing his religious tenets. If this argument has weight, it is still stronger in favor of women, the papist incapacitates himself by adopting the tenets which dilable him, but women, while the restraint continues, are incapacitated by the act of God, the one may by conformity acquire the right, the other's incapacity is physically irremovable, the argument therefore of those gentlemen, undoes itself by afferting too much.

Having thus cleared the question of right, out of the way, and shewn that the catholics, could not demand this franchise, as a right, the committee was at liberty to discuss whether it be poli-

tic or not, to grant it to them as a favor.

In every thing which had hitherto been granted to them, he had concurred. He would allow them property, with equal fecurity for that property, civil liberty, with equal fecurity for that civil liberty, and every thing which could tend to their eafe, their happiness and personal welfare, but he would draw a line round the constitution. within which he would not admit them, while their principles were he would not fay hoffile, but certainly not as friendly to the constitution, as those of protestants. It was impossible while church and flate, were fo intimately connected. that roman catholics avowedly averie to the one. could be as friendly to the other, or attached to a conflitution founded on both, and one principle whereof was the inseparable union of both. He would fay that the plain, natural and inevitable confequence of admitting them, within the pale of the conflitution would be the defiruction of the church establishment, and he would demonstrate this conclusion, step, by step, in a train of

of argument which appeared to him unanswer-

It is vain to imagine, that admission to the elective franchise, does not draw with it the right of representation, it will follow whether you chuse it or not, for upon what ground can you say men are sit to be electors, and unsit to be elected. It had been urged indeed, that a different qualification was necessary, and that it was so in England, and probably would be soon so here, but admitting it even to be so, it made no difference in the argument, for the qualifications of both were of the same nature, differing only in the amount of the value, and not in any consideration arising from their opinions political attachment, or personal endowment.

If then by admitting them to be electors, you must allow them the right of being elected, and so give them feats in this house, upon what principle can you give them a feat in the one house. and refuse it to them in the other? Upon no one principle of common sense. And thus you give them poffession of a full participation in the legislature. The next step to the offices of civil and military power inevitably follows. You cannot fay, that men whom you allow to be qualified for legislation, are unfit to be trufted with the execution of those laws they join in forming. No; fuch a refusal would be absurd, in speculation, and unjustifiable in practice, Admitted then to every trust and power in the state, legislative and executive, do you think they would not feel their clergy degraded, while they remained subordinate? Would they rest content, when there was no inequality between the protestant and catholic laity, that there should be a degrading and mortifying inequality, between the proteftant and catholic clergy?—He was not arguing

on wild methaphyfical speculations; he argued from human nature, from the common workings of the feelings and passions of men, from what protestants would do and had done, and what he himself would do were he a catholic, in the same fituation.—Catholics would never bear to fee the clergy, of the minority, which the protef-tant would then be, exalted by dignities, and fupported in affluence and splendor, while theirs had neither honors, nor maintenance; they could not be content to fee the clergy, who administered to them the duties of their religion, funk in poverty, while the clergy of a church, to whom they had long been obliged to contribute, without profiting by their labors, were enjoying allthe benefits of a wealthy establishment; subordination to protestant power, had alone hitherto induced men to pay tithe, for support of a clergy, whose spiritual affistance they rejected. Possessed of power they would deem it but juffice, to give tithe of catholic to catholic; and we should be at their mercy, whether they would allow the protestant minister, to receive even the tithe of his protestant parishoners; they would naturally say, we have long paid tithe to men who never could make us any return of fervice; we have maintained a clergy whose doctrines, we cannot listen to, it is time for us to pay our own clergy, and they might go further, we will put our clergy in their places, they shall henceforward enjoy what they have long labored for without reward, and we will establish our church, on the ruins of the protestant. Such would naturally be their language, and fuch the fate of the protestant clergy, and the end of the protestant church in Ireland; when the church is gone the flate will foon follow; you cannot expect a protestant state to subfift without a protestant church. In possession of power

power, they must wish to make theirs the religion of the state, and what would stand in their way? nothing but the king's coronation oath "to main-" tain the laws of God, the true profession of the "gospel, and the reformed religion, established "by the law, to preserve unto the bishops, and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law, do or shall appertain to them."

While a monarch fits on the throne, who has taken this oath, their church can never gain the ascendancy; their object of course would be to have a sovereign who should not be bound by it.

I am perfuaded their loyalty and gratitude to his present majesty, even were he to live half a century longer, would prevent their making any fuch attempt during his reign; but furely it is natural to suppose, they would take the first opportunity they could after, to obtain a monarch not barred by fuch an oath from accomplishing their That monarch could not be the British fovereign: Britain would not alter the coronation oath at their defire, and thus their interest, their wishes, and their ambition, must lead them to look for another monarch; and thus would be effected a complete and total separation from Great Britain. These consequences flow so naturally from admitting this first inlet into the constitution, that he could not divest his mind of them. -It was painful to him to feel their weight, and extremely unpleasant to him to mention them, he wished to avoid it, but a question of such moment, could not be argued without looking to all its confequences; he had never weighed any fubject fo much, he looked on it in every view, he wished to convince himself he was mistaken; he still wished it, and would from the bottom of his heart,

heart, thank any man, who would fatisfy him he was in error, and remove his apprehentions; he had no diflike to the catholics, he wished to see no danger in a measure so likely to be adopted, but the train of reasoning which he had laid before the house, exactly as it had offered itself to his mind, had worked fo ftrong upon him, that his opinion remained unshaken.-He was still more confirmed in it, by confidering the circumstances of their clergy—their oath of ordination bound them not as our monarch was bound merely to maintain, but to extend and promote (pro posse, he believed was the phrase) the interests of their church. And all history concurred in proving their zeal; they have fent missionaries to propagate their religion at great expense, trouble and hazard, to almost every part of the world-extenfion of its doctrines, and its powers, is the duty of its professors; their habits of life too urge them to it; they are bound to celibacy; strangers to all the comforts of domestic life, their passions find no refting place, their home had not the allurements of love and of content, to engage and occupy their mind. Human passions are ever alive; if love don't engage them, ambition will; the experience of ages, shew us the ambition of the romith clergy, and when that ambition is fired by a religious zeal, and by the certain confequence of great temporal emolument and dignity, who can fay to what extent it may not go-their oath, their interest and their ambition, all concur in roufing them to exert every power, and watch every opportunity of effecting this change; and however unpleasant to advert to circumstances, of which the authors feem to have repented, he cannot avoid, as it is so apposite to the argument, to notice how eagerly and how early their prelates shewed

shewed their ambition, by claiming their titles of archbishops and bishops in their signatures to their petition the other day to this house, contrary to the existing laws, titles which they would not have presumed to have afferted, but from the influence of that ambitious zeal, which over-bore their judgment.—They foresaw their own ascendancy so strongly in the very first dawn of catholic power that they actually believed themselves in the possession of it.

But let it even be supposed that the overthrow of the protestant establishment, the dethronement of the house of Hanover, and a total separation from Great Britain, were not to be the inevitable consequences of the measure in debate, need he say, that there was still another reason for resusing the franchise as proposed by the bill, that they themselves were not in a situation to receive it.

The utmost efforts of the election laws had been hardly fufficient to prevent perjury and avoid tumult; both these species of mischief the admission of catholics would produce. Nothing tended more to perjury than the want of knowledge of the nature of an oath; and their fuperiors had expressed their opinion as to the lower order of catholics upon this point. In their petition to the throne (which by the way, he observed, was as imprudent a production as ever appeared from fenfible men, but which, as not material to his argument, he should for the present forbear farther confidering) they had stated that numbers of catholics preferring perjury to famine, submitted to oaths which they utterly disbelieved. What were these oaths which they utterly disbelieved? The oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Were these the men whose loyalty was so highly praised, and who were to be admitted into the legislature? and yet this is their character drawn by those who know

know them best. Would men, who could in the hour of coolness and reflection, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy which they utterly difbelieved helitate in the heat and hurry of an election, to prefer bribery to perjury, and take oaths which were trifling, compared to those which they had before taken and difbelieved,-oaths by which they might persuade themselves they were gaining advocates in parliament for their religion? When their friends fay, they think so lightly of an oath, as to prefer perjury to famine, can you doubt they would take false oaths, where the advancement of their religion was super-added to the avoidance of famine. He faid, he spoke not of them from his own furmise or opinion, he flated the opinion which their own body gave to the throne, and published to the world. Here he could not help observing what ideas the petitioners themselves entertained of the constitution of parliament: in the last session, this house had rejected the petition of the catholics for a qualified fuffrage by an almost unanimous resolution; and how do these gentlemen act now? They don't come again to parliament, and pray it to take their case into consideration. No; they pray his majesty to use his influence with his parliament; they apply to the British minister against the sense of this house, against the opinion expressed by every county almost in the kingdom, and do not fcruple at endeavouring to procure an external influence upon this house. Are men with such unconstitutional ideas, fit to vote or sit, or legiflate for this country? They fet forth in the faid petition that the elective franchise gives infinite variety of advantages in protection and otherwife, thus, intimating unwarily, that they confider it as proper to be applied to other uses, than the pure and uncerrupt choice of the fittest candidate ;

date; for what elfe do protection or advantage mean? Great stress has been laid on three millions, being excluded from franchife, and the petitioners defire that it may be recommended to parliament, to consider their numbers. This is rather a blameable expression; it is too like a threat; but they forgot to flate, that of thefe three millions, one half are excluded as females: that of these three millions, 2,100,000 are so poor that they cannot contribute 4d. a year each to the exigencies of the state without oppression, if we are to believe the return before the house. and to argue from the reduction which his majefty's officers recommend to him in the duties of hearth money, on the principle, that there are fo many fubjects in this kingdom on whom it would be a grievance to continue a tax amounting to ad each : They forgot or rather omitted to tell his majesty, when they represented their loyalty. that they were not, nor could they be loyal to the fame extent with his protestants, who acknowledged his supremacy in the whole, and they acknowledged it only in half, in his civil, but denied it in his ecclefiaftical jurifdiction. They should have faid, at the fame time, we claim your majefty's favor to put us on an equality with the protestants, but werdo not, nor will we ever acknowledge you to have ecclefiaftical or spiritual jurifdiction over us as they do-and here he remark. ed the strange situation the protestants would be left in, if this bill passed. They were still to take the oath of supremacy, the catholic was not? they whose principles were to acknowledge the king as fupreme head, were to take a test, while those whose principles were the contrary, were to take none; the loyal protestant is to take one oath more than the catholic; it might operate as a temptation to conform to popery; for if among

the number of fulloots any flitteld be found who might scruple to acknowledge any head of the church, they would be ablolved from it, by pro-feffing themselves exthelics. It is also worthy of pemark here, that revenue officers were deprived of the franchise in England, because they were supposed liable to the influence of their own British monarch; but catholies are to be admissed to it here, who avow themselves in all technishis foreign potentate, hostile to our church and to

see to see the believe the rentin before contribution

Having thus argifed on the unitted of the inferior esthelies to exercise the elective fronthise at present, without injuring the purity of election; he flated another danger to the conflictation from this admission, that they must be advocates for the work species of reform, that of individual voting, which every gentledian divevery fide of the holde reprobated. The protestant was superior and property, inferior in humber; the eatho-lie the reverle; and the latter must be blind in-deed to his own interest, if he did not suddayour to procure that resorm which would give the influence to minubers and take it from property.
But there is one confideration not yet adverted to; syou are tradities for your confituents, they are protestants, have you the prover to delitely their nights, by overtheleting them withinst their confent: for his part hereceived his fast in this house, and the triff which he belonght with it, from protellants, under a protellant king, is protellant confliction and a protellant aftendancy, and by the bleffing of God, he never would give up their rights till they fliend delife like. Confult your conflituents before you wenture on fuch an act ;-will you give to the petitioners, for their a millions of men, a full participation of

all that the one million enjoys, and not fee that you are overpowering the rights of the one milon?...Gentlemen talk of prohibiting forty shilting freeholders from voting; they will not at-tempt to wild a project, when they consider it— What! to disfranchise near two-thirds of all the protestants, to disfranchise those persons who sent them into this house. The law in their favor had existed since Henry VI. and now forms a principle of the confliction; -did the who lived in the North recollect that this would disfranchise all their manufacturers? One gentleman did, and supported their rights, he meant the member for Tyrone, (Mr. Stewart,) whom he always heard with pleafure, for his principles were found, and he was a true friend to the conflitution. Did they wish to force manufacturers to look for ten pound freeholds, they would be spoiled as manufacturers and be miserable farmers? the weaver with his little piece of land and his garden is generally a forty shilling free holder, he is a uleful member, a good voter and a good subject, and on such men as him, may the lafety of the constitution often depend-he faid he had only one confideration to add to the arguments aiready offered, and this was from the prefent times and circumstances. The advocates for the fill relied on them much, and that it was necesfary to give this franchife to make the catholic a heady friend to the kingdom against the common enemy, who threatned our coasts with all the fawage barbarities of French cruelty; he had a much better opinion of them, he did believe them loyal to their king, and that they would not defert their country, or fail to support it, because the papliament did not chuse in the time of war and danger, fuddenly to change laws which had sublitted for a century. If he could think of them Tt2

in the bad light their friends represent them by that argument, he should say it was decisive against the bill, they were unmeriting of favor, and totally unfit to be trufted with any power whatever -Conciliation is dwelt on as a motive, but will the bill conciliate; You gave them much last year for conciliation, did they thank you? No: they rose in their demands and passed you by: it is not in the nature of any body of men, who look to full participation of power, to rest satisfied with a partial fhare, they never will be contented while any thing remains to be obtained. But what is the conciliation you wish for? Not to his majefty-for their loyalty there you fav is past all doubt; if it be conciliation to their Irish protestant brethren, do you think they will feel themselves obliged to them as the authors of this grant? Will they receive it as a voluntary favour, moving from them? No? you know they did not originate it, you know it did not originate in this kingdom; there has been a race for the catholic, and fuch of you as have entered the lifts have been outrun.

My right hon. friend, (Major Hobart) fays, our relaxation last, year, justified Britain in interfering now, but our relaxation then went only to put the catholic on equality with respect to property, protection and civil rights this bill goes to a very different point, to give him political power; but does our rejection of the catholic petition last year, do the resolves of all the counties in the kingdom, justify the interference? Gentlemen have thanked the Irish minister for this measure; he could not thank him for it, tho' he could for many others; for from his foul he considered it as the prelude and certain forerunner of the overthrow of the protestant establishment in Ireland. The British minister was the first

first to rouse this question, and he was not well advised; the country was in peace, thriving in manufactures, industry and trade, public credit high, and revenues ample; what is the case now, old animofities are revived, money which was got then at 3; per cent. for the public, cannot now be procured under 5, if we may judge from the money bill; --- trade is hurt, the revenues fallen, and industry destroyed by tumult in many parts of Ireland; this change has not arisen from French transactions; they have not been felt here, at least not till very lately; it arises from the fears and agitations into which this kingdom, has been thrown by the roufing and supporting this claim—But to return—if to conciliate be your object, this measure will not answer; three millions of catholics are spoke of to be conciliated, but you forget the one million of protestants, will you leave them contented by furrendering their rights and their establishments? Will the manner in which the measure is begun and pressed forward conciliate them?-no-We are in that awkward and unhappy fituation, that we cannot obtain conciliation, either by the paffing or rejecting the bill; pass it, you do not fulfil the catholic wish, and you alarm the protestant,-reject it, and the catholic will complain of

Having gone through these arguments, he shortly recapitulated them: I have shewn you that you are not bound to give franchise as a right, that you cannot grant it as a favor, without hazarding the overthrow of the protestant church, the Hanover succession, and our connexion with great Britain; that even if you could do it without such hazard, the mass of the catholic body, is unsit to exercise it, with safety or advantage; that such a grant will make every catholic.

tholic, an advocate for the worlt species of reform, where numbers and not property, are to infuence; that if these arguments have no weight, full you are but trustees for your coastituents. and cannot furrender their right without their especial leave, which you have not obtained .--That if you had their leave, the times, the circumitances of intimidation, of refort to a British ministry and impracticability of conciliation, would all render the measure unwite in the extreme. And here he called on those who represent northern counties; you have heard the protestant mind is changed there, but you cannot know it for the fact is not fo, the grand juries and respectable meetings have declared against the measure, some few small bodies affembled without authority give a conteary opinion. Do you believe even those few with this grant from conviction of its policy? very far otherwife, they want to gain the catholic for the reform, to which they would now facrifice every thing; and if you pas this bill. they will repent their folly, and fay, you had neither the wildom por firmness that representatives ought to poffess. He next called on these who had figned or fanctioned by their prefence at grand puries or county meetings a disapprobation of this measure. What has happened fince to change your mind? not the imprudence and afperity of the catholic proceedings; not the inperference of the British ministry, in direct oppofition to your own fentiments; not the threats of numbers, for you are above intimidation, but you are told the protestant mind has changed. I almay have operated upon a few, and particularly in Dublin, where the want of discount and fall of Rocks alarm fome timid traders; but I cannot believe it is changed in the country, because as far

far as I know, or have heard, it is quite the reverse; if the news-papers be your authority, I anfwer, they propagate many falfehoods to carry this measure, and notoriously misrepresent the real fentiments and fituation. If there be any in the house, who even entertain a doubt of the policy or fafety of the measure, he said, that in wifdom, they must now vote against it, it was of a hature that it never could be revoked, but they might at any time-embrace it with equal effect when those doubts should cease. He urged them all to postpone the bill till after the affines, to confulf their constituents in the mean time and then they could proceed on fecure grounds. He entreated the house earnestly to consider that no country was ever loft by firmness, many have been fuined by pufillanimity. Stand by the conflitution, support it, and it will support you, you are ftrong enough to maintain it; thew that neither the British minister, nor any British power, shall ever make you change it. A constitution, to conclude in the words of as wife and firm a patriot as ever lived.

In reply to major Hobart

He did not fay the discussion of this measure was what injured this kingdom, it was the first stirring of it; and he differed from him from the first moment it was mentioned, because he saw it would destroy the protestant establishment.

The discussion of it, after it was once stirred, became recessary, and so much was be of that opinion, that the right how gentleman must do him the justice to recollect, that when the subject of the papery laws was firred last session, he recommend-

so dearly bought, the price of fo much blood!

Ob! never let it periff in your bands,

[&]quot; But plously transmit it to your children."

ed a full and ample discussion then, of every article of them; and finally to tell the catholics, what we could relax, and what we could not relax; as the most manly and satisfactory mode

of proceeding.

He never blamed the Irish government, nor did he blame them now; they could not act otherwise; the measure began in Britain, but he should never cease to think it was extreme folly, or indiscretion in the British ministry, to rouse the question here. He would add, that much as he feared its fatal consequences, and much as he opposed it, yet, should it pass into a law, it would then be his duty, from that moment, to give up his own opinions, to embrace it as the law of the land, and do every thing that an individual could do to render it beneficial and effectual.

Colonel Conyngham was decidedly against the

admission of the 40s. freeholders.

Colonel Blaquiere deprecated the present bill in intio; as finally destructive to protestant interest, protestant constitution, protestant monarchy, and the connexion of this country with great Britain.

Mr. Vaughan Brooke was decidedly against the extent of franchise proposed by the bill, and declared that the house, by agreeing to such a measure, would sign the death-warrant of the constitution.

Mr. Vandeleur spoke against the bill, and concluded by moving an amendment that rol. be the qualification instead of 201. per annum, and that the 1000l. personal property be left out.

Mr. Bagwell was for limiting the franchise to ten pound freeholders. He had stood two contested elections for southern counties; and had experienced the disadvantages of a multiplicity of electors, and he was convinced no man could bear the the expense of a canvas or a contest, if the forty shilling freeholders were to give franchise to the

roman catholics.

The right hon Mr. Ogle faid, he verily believed this was the last time he should open his lips in that house, but he would now once for all declare that he thought the bill unconflitutional in principle; inadequate to the ends proposed, and dangerous on experiment, and therefore he considered it his duty as the representative of a protestant county, to oppose it with all the might he could. and to return inviolate into their hands the trust they had reposed in his. He now perceived however the bill was determined on, and therefore he considered the constitution subverted, and that house would ere long rue the proceedings of this day. You are now, faid he, about to throw yourfelves into the arms of a British minister, who will let you ftruggle among yourselves 'till you are quite exhausted, and then reduce your country to his perpetual power. I feel peculiar pain in this night taking my leave of this house, and the protestant ascendancy in this country; that dear, dear old friend of mine, which I loved better than my life, and over which I now hang with grief as over the death-bed of an expiring parent-I now perceive 'tis fallen to rife no more; and I now declare to God, if this bill should pass into a law, if all the roman catholics, and all the protestants of this country were to elect me as their reprefentative, I would never again fet my foot within thefe walls.

Sir John Blaquiere said, if he had had the misfortune of speaking sooner in the debate, the impression of what had been so eloquently and sorcibly delivered by their right hon. Speaker, had made such an impression on his mind, as very much to stagger his opinion: Having had time, U u however, however, to recover his fenses, and coelly to revolve upon the fituation of our affairs, he was decidedly of opinion the bill ought to pass. He admitted the critical state of the public mind, the unhappy alternative of the impossibility of pleasiing all; but of this he was convinced, there was no comparison in the choice, and that the granting to the roman catholics the franchise they defired, was the most likely means of establishing the happiness and tranquility of the nation.

Mr. Alexander regretted that he must now oppole a minority he had so long supported: he clearly foresaw, that to preserve a protestant ostabilliament in this country, a great and perpetual standing army would be actually necessary; and that it was only by the power of British sleets and armies that British connexion with this country

could henceforward be preferved.

The hon. F. H. Hutchinfan faid, that in the former stages of this bill the measure had been difcussed with such extraordinary ability, that it would be unpardonable in him to trespass at any-

length upon the time of the committee.

That if the clause, which had been just read, should pass, unlimited and unsettered, by any subsequent provise, they were then about to reject that fatal policy which had so long blasted our natural energies—a policy whose original purpose was to convert or to exterminate, but the effect of which had only been to divide the nation into two adverse seets—to enslave one, and to weaken both.

He fpoke of two periods—that which preceded, and that which followed the revolution. It was not his intention to travel back into the history of those times, he wished that their recollection was gone and lost for ever; and, he trusted, that the nation would accept that bill as the oblivious

antidote.

He would affume it as an irrefiftible truth, that our national strength depended upon our union; —this proposition was proved by natural deduction, by every page of our history, and by the miffortunes and differences which had overwhelmed

the country.

He faid, that the causes which originally gave occasion to the penal code had long since ceased to operate;—the encreased liberality of the mind of man, aided by the lapse of time, had disarmed the one, and put an end to the existe noe of the other. That there was now no pretender to the crown; the crime of disaffection was no more imputable—the source and object which created that

passion being for ever removed.

That the terrors of papal power continued no longer to agitate even the most feeble mind; that haughty and despotic authority which formerly gave law to sovereigns and their subjects was now tallen, almost sunk from the human eye-vanished with the superstation that gave it birth. The hostilities of reason had at last prevailed over spiritual tyranny, the decay and downfall of which every enlightened observer must have contempla-

ted with peculiar fatisfaction.

He faid, that the popery laws were not only irreconcileable with the spirit of a free government, but that they had encreased the very evils they were intended to remedy:—their first principle was to force religious conformity. That this endeavour to coerce the opinions of men, having been found vain and ineffectual, had long fince been abandoned, as an absurd, and he might call it, a profane speculation. That the mind of man, free as the element in which he lives, will not be confined;—the body may be enchained, but the foul will expand itself, and, in despite of the vain efforts

efforts of human legislation, will affert its own

native independence

He faid, that some objections, and those of a very ferious nature, having been flated, he should, with the leave of the committee, consider how far they were founded, and endeavour to apply to them fuch answers as had occurred to his mind.—That those who had opposed the measure, and he was happy to observe they were very few in number, had confined themselves principally to three grounds of argument, by which they fought to prove, that if the present bill would pass into a law, the probable consequence would be to unfettle the property of the kingdom, fubvert the establishment of the church, and endanger the fuccession of the crown.

To the last of these positions, which had been urged with much zeal and pertinacity, he would

in the first place apply his attention.

He faid, the catholics were as much interested to preserve the union of the crown of Ireland with that of England as we were; they felt the benefits arifing from that connection, they knew the strength of this country depended upon it, and on that strength is rested the security of their

property as well as ours.

That he conceived this topic of objection conveyed against them an unjust and unwarrantable attack, which was refuted by their uniform loyalty for more than a century past, during two rebellions and five foreign wars; that it flood anfwered and contradicted by our own experience, by the truth of history, and the language of our laws.

He next adverted to the apprehensions which had been expressed, of a repeal of the act of settlement, and reprobated, in ftrong terms, an affertion which had been made by an hon. and learned member

member [Dr. Duigenan] who had faid, that the catholics continued to fettle upon the intermarriage of their children, those estates which had been forfeited in the reign of Charles the first. He said that every man of the profession of the law had heard the learned member with astonishment and shame. That one gentleman of great experience had risen to contradict him, and that no one person had been found, among the zealous advocates against the bill, even to infinuate an opinion that this statement was founded in truth.

which we had adopted in 1778, had operated as a confirmation of these acts. That since that period it is universally understood the catholics very generally derive under them, and that he believed no instance could be mentioned in which any one of that community had declined to purchase, because the estate had been forfeited. That these laws were now become our common title, strengthened and confirmed by the revolution of more than a century.

He trusted that the cry of danger upon this part of the subject, would not alarm any reasonable man, when it was considered that the claims which have been talked of, could probably be traced but in few instances, and had to force their way against the whole establishment of the property of the kingdom, against the strength of Ireland, and the united opposition of the whole empire.

With regard to those fears which had been expressed for the church, he begged leave to say, that no man who heard him was more desirous to preserve that establishment than he was; that he thought it ought to be maintained in all its property, its privileges, and its dignities, and although he never would subscribe to the doctrine that the state did in any fort depend upon the church, yet

he conceived it to be indispensably necessary that the church should be supported by the state.

That, perhaps, it might not be prudent to reft her interests in the guievances of her fellow-citizens, left it should exasperate resentments, and thus prepare the feeds of misfortune at some future day. Much less was it judicious to endeayour to prove that her establishment was inconfiftent with the fecurity and the liberties of the great body of the people; that, for his part, he should most reluctantly be convinced, that the civil rights of far the larger part of the inhabitants of this country, were not justly compatible with our ecclefiaftical policy. And he observed altho? in the French monarchy it had been a fundamental principle, that the flate should be catholic, yet the edict of Nantes, the repeal of which has been the source of so much diffrace and calamity to that unfortunate country, had given to the protestants not only an ecclefialtical but a complete civil establiffment, and he was inclined to think that this repeal had, by exasperating resentments contributed to the downfall of that church.

He said, he had thus endeavoured to prove that the principal arguments which had been urg'd against the bill had no just weight, and that he was now come to a part of the subject, upon which he entered with great concern, and which he would cautiously have avoided, if he had not been forced into the discussion by some extraordinary affertions which had been made in the course of the debate.

An hon, member [Mr. A. Brown] had thought proper to fay, that the bill was the offspring of terror, and not of fystem, and that he considered it as a concession to armed petitioners.

It was a justice due to the catholic body, to examine the truth of this position; and he had no doubt

religious

doubt he should be able to show, that it was a cal lumny as groundless and mischievous as ever was tittered within the walls of parliament. It became necessary for him to bring to the recollection of the house, the circumstances under which the bill of the last year had passed, and those events which had taken place fince the conclusion of the fession. Gentlemen would recollect, that during the progress of that bill, the great body of the catholics. acting by their committee, had presented a petition to parliament-humble in its language and constitutional in its import.—This petition was received-but afterwards, contrary to the usual custom of parliament, had been taken off the table. and rejected by a large majority-that during the debate upon this question, the petitioners had been treated with some sevenity—and he remembered it had been particularly orged, that they were ignorant of the fentiments of the catholic body, and had not spoken their opinions.—He mentioned what had paffed upon this occasion, not for the purpole of condemning that measure of which he much disapproved, but to flew that it was the natural and necessary cause of those proceedings, which were afterward taken by the catholicsand that it would manifestly appear, that so far from having formed the prefumptious idea of attempting to overawe the parliament, which was the charge now made by the hon, member, that on the contrary, every step they took was dictated by respect for the legislature—a regard to constitutional forms-and a folicitous defire to preferve, inviolate, the public tranquillity; that, as foon as the fession closed, their first act was calculated to conciliate the affections of every protestant in the community, by removing out of his mind those doubts and prejudices which had been conceived against them, upon the ground of their

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religious tenets; that to obtain this defirable end they framed a declaration, confifting of nine articles, by which they disavowed all those opinions and doctrines inimical to good order and government, which had been attributed to persons of their persuasion; -that this conduct did not to his underflanding, manifest any disposition to intimidate. That having done this deliberate and folemn act, they had, in the next place, proceeded to devise a plan; through the means of which the unequivocal fense of their whole body might be conveyed to the legislature;—and that for this purpose delegates were elected by almost every town and county in the kingdom to meet, in order to frame a petition to parliament, the principal object of which was, to obtain a restoration of the elective franchife, and an equal participation in the trial by jury. He confessed, that the appearance of this plan had created much alarm, but, as he conceived, without any reasonable foundation; that he had always confidered it as perfectly constitutional, and had early, in the county in which he refided, acted upon that opinion—which was founded upon the rights to the subject to petiton; a principle which ought ever to be regarded as facred and inviolable. That he ayowed his fentiments and his conduct upon this occasion with great satisfaction, because he felt how fully vindicated they were by the inspection of the plan itself, and the manner in which it had been carried into execution.

He faid, he would not state the resolutions of the different grand juries, or what had passed at the meetings of several of the counties in consequence of this plan; but would only remind the house, that their general tendency went to form a perpetual bar against the catholic, to all his pleas, and all his expectations—and to exclude him for ever from the pale of the constitution. He said

he did not lament those proceedings, because they had produced the scene in which the committee were then engaged; the catholics, firm in the pursait of their object, had not yielded, even to the authoritative opinions of those very respectable bodies-too bold to be intimidated, and too proud to be coerced; they became animated, not awed; they fought protection at the foot of the throne and had returned under the stamp of the royal recommendation, thro' whose wise and benevolent interpolition we had now adopted their complaints.

He faid he had not intended to have gone into the detail of the circumstances which he had just flated; but he had thought it necessary to do fo. to controul and correct the unjustifiable affertion, that we were yielding to ARMED petitioners; as he conceived the charge conveyed an infinuation contrary to the truth-of dangerous effect-and most derogatory to the honour of parliament.

He had great fatisfaction in observing that the house was not deterred by imaginary dangers, and the outcry which had been raifed from doing an act of justice, and expiating the crimes of former legislatures. That the penal code, which that bill went to repeal, was altogether indefentible, upon any principle either of moral justice, or national wisdom. That, however, notwithstanding all its cruel and pernicious policy, it had found not only advocates, but penegyrifts, from one of whom he had heard fome very extraordinary doctrines, which, he was convinced, must have been received with indignation by every man who loved the country, who had any good affections in his heart, or any fense of public decency in his mind; -- some statements, he faid, did not deserve to be refuted, and this of which he now spoke was of that number. X x

That

That his majesty had been graciously pleased to recommendat this most effical period a concilia tory meafure, for the purpole of uniting the affect tions of all descriptions of his majesty's furbjects. against foreign and dornestie enemies; that the man who had at thich a moment interpoled, with the scal of a fangumary bigot, to create animofito revive religious fanataciffin, to exerte the don't pallions of the human mind for the world purpoles, mould be turned from with abhorrence. bat ought not to be replied to. He who had been heard to vilify with foul invective, the great body of the people, to impeach their loyalty, and with deficiate effrontery to deny the facted truth of the records of parliament it o him it would not be either necessary or decorous to give an answer, Perhaps the old Toirit of malignity and perfectition was bound up in a lingle figure? He wished that the dark and housed image was chained to one foot, as a frectacle for the common gaze to exhip bit in its filleous appearance the fall of bigotry. e was not deten signed with to name site Bits

amendment, it was negatived on a division, 144,

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Another amendment was proposed by Mr. War burion; to limit the franchife to the catholic free holders; which was also negatived; as was also Dr. Daigenan's amendment, without a division? and the claime panel in its original form.

Mr. Attorney Contral moved fome other amendments, which were adopted and at near five o'clock next morning the committee Broke up. and obtained Teave to fit again on Friday to which day the house adjourned.

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The House in Committee,

MR. DAY in the Chair.

Mr. Ifaac Carry moved a proviso, "Provided always, that all roman catholics claiming the right of voting at elections for members to serve in parliament, or for magnitrates in any corporation, he required to perform all the qualifications, registry, &c, which are now required to be performed by protestants, the oaths of abjuration and supremacy excepted."

This amendment was adopted, as was also the following one, proposed by Dr. Duignan, in the third paragraph: "Provided always, that pothing herein contained be understood to empower them to interfere in the disposal of the income of any church or parish, or in regulating the salary of parish clerks, or in the election of church wardens."

dens. In the fourth clause respecting arms, the Att. Gen. moved, that the words "and ammunition," be inscrited after the word "arms."

Mr. Maxwell observed, that this clause was

Mr. Maxwell observed, that this clause was founded on a very odd principle, men whom the house thought fit to entrust with the elective franchile, it prevented from carrying arms on a sufpicion of their being ill affected to the government. The clause was one of the inconsistencies of which the bill was full.

The amendment was, adopted.

The fifth clause relative to civil officers being read, the Att. Gen. moved, that in place of the clause rendering catholics eligible to all professor-thips of divinity, should be inserted words rendering them capable of taking degrees, and of be-

coming profesfors (except in divinity) in any college which shall be hereafter founded.

The Prought spoke against the clause as it stood

originally in the bill; as did also,

Dr. Browne, who faid parliament should only take away those oaths which parliament had impoled, and leave the rest to his majesty. He stated that the gentlemen concerned in the government of the university were discontented with the interference of the bill, not fo far as it went to permit roman catholics to take degrees therein, which it was their wish they should be permitted to do, but fo far as it concerned the professorships, with which they conceived parliament had no right to interfere.

He understood the catholics were most defirous of the profesiorships of physic, and to their being admitted to those, neither he nor the college had

any objection.

Rt hon. W. B. Ponfonby agreed in the opinion that the house ought not to interfere with the flatutes of the college. He also threw out an idea that if a new college should hereafter be established in this kingdom, it should not by any means be a diffinct roman catholic college, but under the direction of the prefent university.

The attorney general's amendment was agreed to, as was also, after a long conversation, another amendment proposed by Mr. Grattan to that they may be elected professors in physic, on the founda-

tion of Sir Patrick Dunn.

Dr. Duignan now introduced his proposed amendment.-After repealing the facramental teft-a measure, which king James the 2d in attempting to carry, loft his crown, and which the friends of diffenters in England had twice attempted recently and were unable to effect, the doctor thought fome ftrong test should be proposed to the catholics, be-

fore they were admitted to offices of trust-the eath to which the bill referred at prefent, that of the 13th and 14th of the king, he thought too weak. He would, therefore, propose an oath founded on the declaration published by the catholics and figned by Mr. Byrne in March laft-If they should refuse to swear what they had come forward and declared fo folemnly, it would be evident, they ought not to be trufted.—There was only one point in the oath which was not in that declaration, namely, a renunciation of the opinion, that no christian can be faved who is not at the time of his death of the roman catholic perfuation. This opinion he thought it necessary the catholics should renounce as the man who holds it must naturally wish to overturn the established church, which he thinks is only a nursery of perdition.

He then presented the oath which was read and which is nearly twice as long as the present

oath.

Major Hobart professed the oath was too complex for him at prefent perfectly to comprehend, but he hoped the hon. gent. would state his objections to the present oath which to him appeared

fully fufficient.

The oath of the 13th and 14th of the present king was then read, and the doctor stated the difference between it and his to be-ift.-That his contained a denial of the doctrine of no falvation but of the roman catholic church—2d.—A more full declaration against the authority not only of the pope but of councils, affemblies, &c. and of their power of absolution.

A very great number of gentlemen spoke on the question, whether the latter words of this paragraph hould be omitted, and this oath substituted in their room—Those who supported the motion agreed,

That the catholics having made a folemn declaration of most of the principles contained in the outh, could have no objection to swear it, if they were sincere.

Those who opposed the amendment did so on the ground of its being unnecessary, as the present oath was in their opinion fully sufficient to secure the allegiance of the catholics, which was all that any oath ought to aim at.

Among those who supported the amendment

were,

Col. Blaquiere, Counfellor Johnston, the Speaker, Mr. Bradihaw, Mr. Annelley, 1)r. Browne, Mr. Rowley, Mr. Uniacke, Mr. Alexander, and lord Hillborough.

Among those who opposed it were, major Hobart, Mr. Knox, Sir J. Blaquiere, Sir H. Langrishe,

Mr. Curran, and Mr. Duquerry.

Mr. Maxwell finally moved that the chairman report progress, for the purpose of giving gentlemen time to confider the question more attentively.

This motion was agreed to and the committee was ordered to fit again the next day.

SATURDAY, March 2.

Major Hobart presented the sketch of the oath which he had drawn up in compliance with the sense of the committee: it consisted of the whole of the oath prescribed by the 13th and 14th of the king, with so much of the leading points of the late catholic declaration as he deemed necessary, which he read in his place.

Doctor Duignan presented another oath which he had drawn up and thrice as long, which he contended to be absolutely necessary.

Major

Major Hobart, and several other members, objected to this oath, as extremely long, intricate, obscure, and in many parts utterly unnecellarry.

Major Doyle faith, that although he was not prone to fwear by fecretaries in general, yet he would infinitely prefer the oath propoled by the right hon gentleman [major Hobart] to the folio dath introduced by the judge of the eccleliaffical court [Dr. Dulgnam]. He knew nothing that was like the learned member's chapter of fwearing, but Enulphus's chapter of curling in Trillram Shandy. He disapproved extremely of multiplying oaths at any time, but particularly when it could answer no purpose, but to wound and infult the feelings of a large body of loyal fubjects. to whom the legillature were about to restore certain privileges, and to confer certain benefits. If they be dilloyal, you should give them nothing: you have already given them too much. But, if they have proved themselves good and faithful fubjects, you should not treat them with jealousy and sulpicion. The oaths of the 19th and 14th of the king have been found perfectly fufficient to enfure their fidelity to his majesty and the constitution, and now, when they are so much more enlightened, and deemed worthy of encreased advantages, it is proposed to shackle them with additional oaths.

But the learned member has called upon us to prove the loyalty which we state in their behalf. Why, sir, the one of disproving it should be upon the learned member. It is dissibllet for us to prove, what is a self-evident proposition. But the best way of judging of their loyalty is, by their past conduct.—His majesty, their sovereign, declares them to be loyal—the administration of this king-dom declares them to be loyal—and the legislature of their country declares them loyal in the several

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acts which have been made in their behalf—and I should be glad to know who can be so good judges of the loyalty of the governed as the governor. I should prefer such testimony even to that of the

learned member.

The learned member had animadverted on his speech, and accused him of having misapplied the quotation from Swift, in using that feriously which the author had applied ironically. Sir, faid major Doyle, if the dean has lent me his words, I am to make use of them as I think best for my argument. But that the committee may fee that I have not abused the loan, I will state again his words:-" Persecution, merely for conscience sake, is against the genius of the gospel; so likewise is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights which they claim as men. The fmalleft negative discouragements for uniformity's sake. are fo many perfecutions. In like manner, an incapacity for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or a justice of the peace, merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and consequently a real persecution.-The belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which doth not effect the political interest of society as such. Therefore, why should the right of conscience, whereof God is the sole ·lord, be subject to human jurisdiction."

How the dean might have applied this in his day, faid major Doyle, is immaterial; but I am fure it is a truth as applied by me in the present instance to the catholic body. I assure the learned member, I am not quite ignorant of the use of irony. Suppose, Mr. chairman, I were to say of the learned judge's speeches on this subject, or rather his speech—twice repeated, that it was unequalled for its historic sidelity, for its seasonable conciliation, and its polished suavity of manners;

that it was highly honourable to the protestant religion, from the liberal toleration it breathed, and that it was useful in the extreme to the established church, by the profelytes it must bring into its bosom from the mild and christian charity, it inculcates.—Does the learned member now perceive I understand any thing of irony? There is a figure in rhetoric, which I am not so well acquainted with—the figure byperbole—but the learned member is a better rhetorician.

So that, sir, there does not appear to be any blunder in the application of Swift's words; but if there had, the learned member set me the example, when he says, "as the greek painter Apelles expressed himself—ne sutor ultra crepidam." But strange as the instance of the greek language may be, I should rather follow the learned member in that than in the English language, which he has used upon the present subject. It may be eloquence, but it is of that vituperative species which has lately distinguished a certain class of female politicians in Paris, and was formerly in high repute amongst the orators of Billingsgate. But it is not well applied at this day, on this subject, and to this house.

A right hon. gentleman, whose abilities justly entitle him to attention [the Speaker], has argued much upon the dangerous power of the pope, the oath propose of the bishops, and the influence of the clergy upon their flock. With respect to the pope, I am ashamed to attempt to prove what is notorious to all christendom, viz. that the papal power has decreased, and is most rapidly decreasing, and the fact which I before afferted confirms it, that while we have been debating this question—the power of Rome has applied to the protestant king and protestant people of England, to protect him against his popish enemies.—His power was infinitely

I cannot

infinitely greater in 1778, but it was not an objection then urged against granting privileges to ca-

tholics less enlightened than the prefent.

As to the bishops' oath proposse, what has been its effects for the last twenty years? Has it strengthened the papal influence? On the contrary, has not the inpremacy of Rome been maken off within that period by a large portion of those who formerly acknowledged it? - The right hon. member fays, the celibacy of the clergy leaves them no passion but ambition ; - whether that effect naturally follows from the cause, I will not now argue. I am fure it were better for the flate they did marry. But has this ambition been dormant for thel aft 50 years? and what has it effected, when the poverty of their flocks might have made them inftruments? and are they likely to become infiruments now, when they are acquiring riches and independence ?-Beside, it is the laity only acquire infinence by this bill, or even by rotal emancipation. The clergy, at present, have fearcely common sub-sistence: and is it to be supposed they are all as once to acquire influence to induce the laity to risque their properties, the quiet of the country, the reliftance of the protestant king, of protestant England, and of the protestants of Ireland, to enrich men to whose necessities they so sparingly contribute?

An extraordinary affertion has been made, that the catholics feem inclined to democracy. It is a new charge: I have often heard the opposite urged against them, of being monarchial. But, Sir, the clergy are said to have dangerous influence: now, if they have, can any man suppose, they will direct it in savour of republicanism, by which their whole order has been ruined in a neighbouring country? There is, in, another expression turned against the catholic body, which

I cannot consider as fair in argument;—that is, when he says, "the three millions with which we are threatened." It is peculiarly mischievous from the high spirit of the gentleman to whom it is addressed, who properly would spurn at a threat; but so far is it from a threat, that it is an humble petition and supplication, which surely is not less worthy of attention from the number of supplicants, unless the hon member proceeds upon the plan of the old lady in the play (mentioned by an ingenious friend of mine), "who would not give charity because there were so many beggars."

Monday, March, 4th. The House in Committe.

Dr. Duignan, after a short preface, proposed an oath formed precisely on the declaration published by the catholic committee in March last.

Major Hobart faid, that when he proposed the oath which the hon. gent. disapproved he did so under conviction that he adopted in that oath fubstantially, every thing which that hon, gentleman had proposed, because, if the catholics swore that they did not believe the pope could absolve them from their oaths, the sting of infallibility in the pope was really done away. The hon, gentleman now was willing to take the declaration of the catholics simply as the matter of his oath, and as the object of the bill was conciliation, and as he believed the catholics would have no objection whatever to fwear that declaration, he would affent to the proposition.—He had not the least fear that the catholics would object to this oath because he found them extremely ready to swear whatever that declaration contained, and because Dr. Troy in his recent publication, declared that

the doctrines contained in that publication, had nothing in them contrary to the catholic faith—the only objection that had occurred to him against the oath, was its extreme length, which he had thought might considerably embarrass elections, but as the hon. gent. had suggested that the oath might be taken at the time of registering the free-hold, his objection was removed, and he most readily adopted the hon. gentleman's proposition.

Mr. Rowley declared himself adverse to the

whole of the bill.

Mr. Annefley objected to that part of the oath by which the catholic should swear that he would not attempt to subvert the protestant establishment for the purpose of substituting a catholic one in its stead. This, he said, he had no fear of, but that they would endeavour to deprive the proteftant clergy of tithes to confer them on their own clergy, and that fome leading men among them had fuch an idea he was ready to prove; he would therefore wish that a clause disclaiming any attempt "to disturb the rights of the church in this kingdom" should be substituted. He also objected to that clause by which they were to disavow any defign of diffurbing the present arrangement of property in this country: he thought it could have no other effect than to lead men's minds to the nature of those tenures by which a great deal of property was held in this country, and which but for this clause they would never think of.

He therefore moved an amendment by expunging this clause, and substituting another, guard-

ing the rights of the clergy.

Dr. Duignan supported the oath he had proposed. The rights of the clergy were sufficiently protected by it, as the church were the clergy and the clergy the church; they were convertible terms.—As to the clause respecting the forfeited estates.

estates, he had adopted it because the catholics themselves had mentioned it.——If it should be omitted after having been once introduced, he thought it might do singular mischief.

Mr. Cuffe, Mr. Holmes, and Chan. of Ex. opposed the amendment, as calculated only to revive debate on a subject which had been already amply discussed and in which considerable concessions has been made on both sides, for the sake of unanimity.

Mr. Forbes opposed that part of the oath, which makes the catholic disclaim a belief of the doctrine of forgiveness of fins by priestly absolution.—A similar idea had been introduced into an oath, proposed to the English house of commons on the same subject, and had been scouted with ridicule.

—He exhorted the house to act in a similar manner.

He was answered by Dr. Duignan, who considered their disclaiming of this tenet as peculiarly important, as none was more pregnant with mischievous consequences to sobriety.

Mr Annesley perceiving the sense of the house

against him, withdrew his amendment.

The Provost thought the catholics could not at all object to the oath, as the matter of it had been suggested by themselves—but he hoped that if any dissipation of it, it would be so explained as not to impede the catholic franchise. He then mentioned the clause by which the catholics disclaim any title to sorfeited lands, as one which might occasion dissipations of this kind, as a great deal of those lands had been purchased by catholics since the year 87. To all those who had thus purchased forfeited lands, or who might hereafter purchase them, he thought this clause would be an invincible obstacle. He suggested an amendment, by inserting

the words, " in opposition to the acts of attainder and settlement, or any other laws now existing."

Mr. G. Pansonby objected to the clause altogether, because he did not think it wise to teach gentlemen that the security of their estates depended on the oaths or forbearance of any men. Besides he was conscious the catholics had no idea of attempting any thing against the present settlement of property, and he was fure if they did they would not succeed. It was absurd too, to make forty thilling freeholders, whose ancestors could have no property to disclaim any title derived from those ancestors. The landed property of every country must necessarily be confined to few-to make 300,000 men disclaim the title of their ancestors, must therefore be highly absurd. It could tend to nothing else than to make them discontented, by suggesting to them that their anceftry were very great people, who had been pillaged by the protestants.—It was an infult also to the catholies, as it taught them that while we were admitting them to share the constitution, we thought them such men as ought not to be trufted.

A conversation followed, in which Dr. Duignan, Col. Paul, Col. Blaquiere, Mr. Curran, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Knox, Mr. Sec. Cooke, and Major Hobart spoke, and which was terminated

by an amendment luggested by

Mr. Ormsby, who moved, instead of being sworn not to disturb, they [the catholics] should be sworn "to defend to the utmost of their power the present settlement of property in this kingdom."

This amendment met the unanimous sense of the house, and was finally adopted after Mr. Grattan had expressed his disapprobation of the oath generally, as too metaphysical, and his opinion that the oath which had been proposed by the secretary, on Saturday, was equal to every purpose of civil security which could be looked for in an oath.

Lord Henry Fitzgerald looked on the oath altogether as an unnecessary clog, and illiberal in itfelf; he would therefore vote against it.

The clause admitting tatholics to profesiorships of physic on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunn,

was then adopted without debate.

The paragraph being read which makes the catholics eligible to civil and military offices, certain offices excepted, which are there enumerated, among which are the commissioners of revenue, customs and excise.

Mr. Annefley observed, that the greater part of the wealthy catholics in this country were men who had amassed their property by trade.—Such men were of all others the most sit for presiding over the revenue, and therefore he could not conceive why they should be excluded from the offices of chief commissioners, especially as by the place bill, now before the house, those officers would probably be rendered incapable of sitting in parliament.—He therefore moved the words excluding catholics from those offices should be expunsed.

This motion, after fome time, being put, was very unexpectedly carried in the affirmative.

Sir H. Langrifte moved as an amendment, that the keeper of the privy feal, and the custodes rotulorum, and governors of counties, should be atuded the offices from which catholics shall be extuded.

Mr. Gratian expressed his disapprobation of the excluding clause altogether. The king, he thought ought not to be prevented from appointing to office whomsever he should think best qualified

qualified to discharge the duty. It was absurd to truft the catholics into the constitution, and yet on a principle of diffrust keep them out of the executive offices, to which the king ought to have the full power of appointing, and for the execution of which the persons appointed would be responsible. He must be a visionary politician indeed, and would foon find that he was fo, who could hope after admitting men into the constitution, to keep them out of the Rate.

Mr. Maxwell finggested the propriety of excluding catholics from the office of keeper of the records-that of public register of deeds, and his deputy, and chief prothonotary of the two courts,

and moved the exclusion accordingly.

This amendment, after fome conversation, was

negatived.

Mr. 7. C. Beresford, after stating that the catholics would probably not fend their children to be educated in our university, unless they were admitted to fhare all the honours and emoluments of it, moved, that the words—excluding them from the place of provoft, and from fellowshipsshould be expunged.

This amendment produced a division, on which

the numbers were,

For the expunction . . . 6 \ Majority 104. Againstit 110 5

Mr. Annessey moved, for the expunction of the words excluding catholics from the place of postmafter general. He could fee no good reason to withhold this office from them. His idea had been to keep them out of the constitution entirely, but now that they were admitted to that, he thought they should be admitted to every other office.

Major Doyle moved a clause to permit roman catholics to hold the office of high theriff in the several counties. He faid that the legislature having rendered them eligible to grand juries, the boon would be incomplete without their eligibility to the office of sheriff, by whom the jury were appointed—and he argued it the rather because there could be no danger, even in the opinion of the most timid, when it is recollected, that the proportion of catholics to protestants qualified for the office is not as one to thirty; that they are punishable by the court of king's bench, if they misconduct themselves; but more especially, as they are appointed by his majesty who of course will not select a disloyal person for that situation.

Major Hobart thought the hon. gent. did very great injustice indeed to the protestant gentlemen of the country by supposing, at a time like this, when they were manifesting such liberality of sentiment toward catholics, that protestant sheriss

would not return them on juries.

Lord Hillborough said he did not rise in that house as an agent either for the catholics or protestants, but he would negative the amendment because the Sheriff was the representative of the king, who could not be represented by a papist; and not only would he resist the amendment but would propose that sub-sheriffs also should be excluded.

Major Doyle with a great deal of spirit repelled the infinuation which the noble lord had presumed to make, that HE was an agent for papists. he warned him against using such language to men as independent as himself.

Lord Hillsborough disclaimed any idea of applying the word to the hon. gent.—He had only

faid that he himself was no agent.

Hon. Mr. Knon warmly supported the amendment. The object of the bill was conciliation; he thought it would not perfectly conciliate, if those

offices were witheld.

Mr. Alexander faid, if the right hon, mover of the bill would agree to his amendment, it would be a very course fraud on the protestants of the country, who acquiesced in the bill, only because they had been taught to believe that the catholics should be excluded from the executive power of the country—and nothing could tend more strongly to vest them with that power, than this amendment.

Mr. Curran spoke for the amendment. He denied that the sheriff was the representative of the erown, and thought that catholics were as well qualified to discharge the office properly, as any

men whatever.

Mr. Gratian was also for the amendment, which, however, after some further conversation, was ne-

gatived without a division.

Lord Hillsborough then moved his amendment on the exclusion of the fub-sheriffs, which he supported on the ground of his having the power of the sheriffs committed to him; if it were right therefore to exclude the one—the other therefore should be excluded.

The Speaker was for the amendment—as were also Col. Blaquiere and Mr. Annelley.—It was opposed by Mr. Duquery and Mr. Curran on the principles that the law did not recognize the sub-sheriff, and that the high sheriff was responsible

for all the acts of his deputy.

The amendment was negatived without a divi-

Mr. Annelley now rose to move his promised amendment, to establish a legal provision for the roman catholic clergy. The substance of his motion was—" That every populh priest have power

to recover by civil bill in any court of proper jurisdiction, such fees as are now voluntarily paid on baptisms, marriages, &c. &c.

Mr. Sec. Cooke thought this clause could not be received until the committee were empower-

ed by the house to receive it.

Mr. Curran supported the idea of Mr. Annelley—he thought it was a reproach to the nation that a set of men, ministering in holy things, had been so long left unnoticed by the legislature, without any attention been paid either to their qualifications or support—He promised his best assistance to further the measure.

Major Habart observed, that another gentleman had for some time this measure in contemplation, and was preparing some proposition on the subject—hoped therefore the hon, gent, would not per-

severe in his amendment.

Mr. Annesley on this, withdrew his motion.

Mr. Ofborne moved the clauses which the committee had been empowered to receive, to entitle catholics to all those immunities in corporate towns which protestant denizens are entitled to by the act of the 14th and 15th of Charles II.

These clauses were opposed by several gentlemen on the ground that the act to which they referred was at present doubtful in its construction, and the clauses, if adopted, would be in fact a legislative division on that subject.

They were negatived after a very long conver-

a stace amendments. I

fation, without a division.

WEDNESDAY, March 6.

The report of the committee on the catholic bill was represented by Mr. Day.

Sir H. Langrishe wished that the clause which had been introduced in the committee by way of Z z 2 proviso,

proviso, preventing roman catholics from voting in veltries on questions relative to the demise or disposal of any parish property, should be withdrawn; it was a provision which gave no security to protestant ascendancy, and prevented catholics from interfering in the disposal of property which in many infrances belonged to the parish at large and was bequeathed to lighten the parochial burdens of all the inhabitants.

Mr. G. Ponfonby agreed in the idea.

Dr. Duigenan defended the proviso and shewed the necessity of it by relating an act of vestry which had been made fome time ago in Catherine's parish—That parish had an estate of 2501. per annum.—At a veftry in which 58 Catholics were present, and only 15 protestants, 60l. per annum had been voted by the catholics out of this fum to perions called roman catholic curates and that too in opposition to the sense of the protestants who affifted at the veftry-The proviso, he observed did not go to deprive the catholics of their right to vote at vestries, if any such they had, but only to prevent the bill from being construed to give them this power.

He shewed, that if the catholics were permitted to dispose of parish property in this manner to themselves, they would in fact be permitted to tax the protestant inhabitants; for, in proportion as the fund appointed for defraying the parish expences, was appropriated to other purposes, the

parish-cess must be encreased.

The amendment was at length adopted, as were also all the other amendments. The bill being

gone through.

Mr. Rowley declared himself a decided enemy to that clause of it which gave to the catholics the elective franchife. No man was more willing than he, that they should be indulged and protected, and he thought they were so; but the protestant ascendancy ought to be preserved: the grant of the elective franchise tended to subvert that ascendancy. If the clause conferring that were struck out, he would support the rest of the bill; if not, he would oppose the whole bill on account of that. He concluded by moving, that this clause be expunged;—he was seconded by Mr. Ogle: on the question being put, the motion was negatived without a division.

The bill was then ordered to be engroffed.

THURSDAY, March 7.

The bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to the Lords.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THURSDAY, March 7.

Mr. Secretary Hobart from the commons, prefented at the bar, the bill for the relief of his majesty's roman catholic subjects, which he informed the house had passed the commons, and requested their lordship's concurrence.

The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second on Wednesday next.

WEDNESDAY, March 13.

The bill was read a fecond time, and on the question for its committal being put,

The bishop of Killala rose to express his ready and most cheerful assent to a bill for the relief of his

his long opprefied, and loyal catholic brethren, and their return to that portion of the constitution, to which the bill before the house went to admit them.

From the difficulty of introduction below the bar, our reporter found it impossible to gain admittance till the reverend prelate had nearly concluded his oration, but from what he could collect, his lordship had gone into an history of the origin and progress of the penal statutes, and deprecated the whole fystem, as founded in the prejudices of a bigotted and perfecuting age, and continued for near a century, with equal impolicy and injustice, to a loyal body of subjects, whose conduct for that period was a full refutation of every argument that could be offered in fupport of that code, under which they had fo

long groaned with patient fubmission.

He had heard it argued, that their numbers was a reason for excluding them from the constitution; but for his own part he held an opinion directly the reverse. In times like the present, when we were threatened by foreign enemies, and agitated by domestic differtions, he would with to unite those numbers in support of that constitution to which they had ever been loyal, rather than turn them against it by perpetuating restrictive systems and oppressive exclusions, which no existing necessity could warrant, nor no policy With respect to the fears that had been expressed of the pope and the pretender, he regarded them as idle and unfounded; the power of the one was humbled, and the very name of the other extinct; and as to any danger to the protestant establishment, from following the dictates of justice, and of lenity, to the catholics, he confidered all apprehensions equally groundlefs. and the bigger to be

He felt it his duty to declare fully his fentiments on these points, because he looked upon his roman catholic brethren as fellow fubjects, and fellow-christians, believers in the same God, and partners in the fame redemption. Speculative difference in some points of faith with him, were of, no account; they and he had but one religion the religion of christianity. Therefore, as children of the fame father—as travellers in the fame road—and feekers of the fame falvation, why not love each other as brothers? It was no part of protestanism to persecute catholics, and without justice to the catholic, there could be no fecurity, for the protestant establishment; as a friend, therefore, to the permanency of this establishment. to the prosperity of the country, and the justice due to his catholic brethren, he should chearfully,

give his vote that the bill be committed.

The earl of Glandore now role and faid, that the catholic gratitude for the liberality of parliament, would be amply repaid by their attachment; and that the constitution would find in them a powerful and faithful ally against the efforts of sedition, and the dangerous combinations which at this time affailed it. He confelled he had a partiality for the roman catholics, which had arisen from having lived much with them, and from a knowledge of their principles and fentiments. He had the honor of being much acquainted with many. of the principal roman catholics, both here and in England. He had always found them men of loyal principles, much attached to monarchy, and particularly to the lovereign now upon the throne; to whom, for his gracious protection of them, they had always expressed themselves deeply indebted. The dangerous doctrines which had been imputed, and many of them very falfly imputed to the catholic profession of faith had been abjured

abjured by the principal of the clergy and laity of that communion. In England the nobility and principal roman catholics of that kingdom had drawn up and subscribed a formal protest against those opinions, and deposited this document amidst the archieves of the British museum. The power of the pope was now no longer to be dreaded; he was fallen lower than his worst enemies could wish him to be. He confessed he did not rejoice to fee a christian prelate, and a sovereign prince humbling himself before the national convention of France; that power which was formerly the terror of the christian world, was long fince laid down. It was now indeed taken up by the French convention; they had substituted their decrees for the bulls of the popes, and had arrogated to themselves the right of absolving subjects from their allegiance, and shaking the thrones of the earth. To arrest the progress of so formidable a power, which threatened destruction to every regular government, and had peculiarly levelled its attacks against this constitution. To defeat the deligns of its apostles and missionaries in this country, who are bufy in propagating its pernicious principles, let them call to their aid those of their fellow fubjects, who were known to entertain fentiments the opposite of those; for notwithstanding the exception of a very few individuals, he believed it was very well known that the great body of the roman catholics of this kingdom abhorred and reprobated modern French principles, and what proved it beyond a doubt was, that in that part of the kingdom where the catholics abound, and have most influence, those doctrines have made no impression; whilst, in the quarter where they are the fewest and most inconsiderable, there they have gained ground to an extent which has given a very ferious alarm; that the roman catholics, bygetting

getting possession of the elective franchise, and enjoying the other privileges which this bill afforded to them, would acquire a certain share of power in the flate was not to be denied; but besides what might be expected from their long tried loyalty, and the principles which he fincerely believed they possessed, they had not now the same temptation or incitement to diffurb the government as formerly, were they so inclined. The succession to the crown was now undifputed in the protestant line. There no longer existed a prince of their own perfualion, to whom they might transfer their allegiance; and as for any expectation that they would be able to subvert the established church in this kingdom, and substitute a catholic hierarchy in its place, that must be vain indeed. If ever the established church in this country was subverted, the fonfequence would be that there would be no established religion at all; and therefore the choice of the alternative now is, not between a protestant and a catholic king, or between an English and a popish hierarchy, but between the monarchy and the church, as now established, and a republic, and that too a French republic, formed on the French model, proceeding upon French prin ciples, and subject to the influence and controul of France. And now, that he had mentioned the established church, he would be bold to fay, that there was no man who was a more fincere friend to it than he was, or who was more thoroughly fensible of what an effential part it formed of the constitution. He considered the hierarchy of the established church, through its several gradations of ecclefiaftical dignities, as a mean and principal fupport of the monarchy, and a vital part of the constitution; at the same time he wished to see a decent and liberal provision made for the roman catholic clergy, and he was happy to hear that 3 A

steps had been taken to that effect, and that the measure was to be brought forward in another place, by a young nobleman, the heir of a great

and respectable family.

There was one provision in the bill, which, he thought, would very much conduce to cement and unite the people, that by which all impediments to the intermarriages of persons of the different religions was removed; moreover, he knew of no expedient so likely to increase the number of the established church. Where the parents were of different persuasions, the children would be educated in the established religion, which would have the preponderance. He knew, in his own neighbourhood, some examples of such marriages, notwithstanding the penal ties, which, at the time, attended them, and from all of them the children had been educated protestants.—the opportunities of a common education, and the habits of early youth, formed another flrong link of connexion; they were about to change their policy, and the effects would be considered in different points of view. He turned his eye to the encouraging fide of the prospect,—not because it was the more pleasing to contemplate; but because he really thought it the more probable.—By keeping their people within the pale of the constitution, they would engage them it its defence, and give them an interest, in the common cause. He trusted they would be too powerful for their enemies, and that when, after a little time, the prefent ferment should subside, this nation might present to the world, the glorious spectacle of a patriot king at the head of an united people.

Lord Pertarlington expressed his satisfaction that the time was now come when he could meet his roman catholic fellow subjects with confidence, on being admitted to the indulgences in the bill before the house. He should not have rose, he said, but for some thing which had fallen from the rev. prelate who had spoken first in this debate, reflecting on the conduct of our protestant ancestors, and imputing those laws to a spirit of wanton and persecuting cruelty in them, which were the mere result of indispensable necessity and self desence; and he entered into an historical detail of the origin and progress of the penal code, in support of his affertion; and though it appeared from this inquiry that former popes had assumed a power of absolving subjects from allegiance to their sovereigns, he was convinced the catholics of the present day held such doctrine in as much abhorrence as protestants could do.

He was decidedly against that principle of the bill which went to the admission of catholic 40s. freeholders, as well from the inconvenience it would create in elections, as from the great numbers it would admit to the franchise, and their tendency to weaken the protestant interest.

His lordship said he was one of the committee lately appointed by their lordships to enquire into certain alarming events of late prevalent in this country, and if he was not fully convinced that the catholic body had no concern whatever in the disturbances created by some of their communion in the North, he should never give to this bill the support he now gave it, by voting cheerfully for its committal.

The Marquis of Waterford said, the conduct of the roman catholics during the American war, when they came forward with zeal to support the cause of the empire, was a strong advocate in their favour. He could not concede to them, however, but with caution; they had separated themselves from gentlemen of acknowledged worth in their own communion, and they had chosen the very

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worst men in it to be their governors. This was a sufficient reason why protestants should be cautious. His lordship declared, that if he had not a better opinion of the roman catholics in general, than he had of the sub-committee, his vote would be different from that which he intended to give. It was his majesty's recommendation, therefore he approved of the bill; but he trusted he would hear no more of councils held in the city,—of conventions, or roman catholic representatives; but that gratitude would bind the catholics to his majesty's government; and that, as the legislators removed distinctions, one interest would unite protestant and catholic against the enemies of the empire.

His lordship advised the utmost deliberation on the measure the house was about to adopt; it is of too much consequence, said he, to be hastily proceeded on. He mentioned, that in the other house the earl Tyrone meant to introduce a bill to provide for roman catholic clergymen, and that he had delayed it merely to let this important bill before their lordships have due consideration. His lordship said, that in the provision designed, the protestant was to contribute a share; but protestant generosity was never to be doubted; it would not interfere with the legal provision for protestant clergymen, as part of the constitution that was to

The Lord Chancellor. It was my wish, my most earnest wish, to have made no opposition to this bill, to have let it pass without any observations from me, as the state of the country seems to render it absolutely necessary;—but when the general principles of anarchy, the rage of innovation, and the epidemical phranzy seem to have reached this house,—when inslammatory decla-

be held facred.

mation,

mation, and ill-advised mistatements come from the reverend bench, it attacks upon the existing government, I feel it necessary to rise in defence of the constitution.—Before I allude more particularly to the right revd. prelate, I must affume the office of his apologist, and the apology I shall make for him will be, -an utter and radical ignorance of the laws and conflitution of the country from whence he came, and the laws and conflitution of the country in which he lives.

As to the diffinction of catholic and protestant, if I know myfelf, I have not a spark of bigotry in my composition. In any question between man and man, if he adheres to the principles and precepts of the christian religion, it does not matter with me one farthing to what particular fect of that religion any person belongs; but when we are called on to deliver up to a great body of the people the efficient powers of the state, it becomes us, as wife men, to look back at the past, and see when so much power has been in the possession of that body at other times, what fecurity the protestants of this country have had, and hence what they will have when that power is restored.

I should be forry that any thing I now fay should affect the progress of this bill ;-I wish it should pass, for I think it is necessary, from what has lately passed in this country and great Britain; -therefore I beg it may be understood, that what I shall fay is rather intended to stop the further progress of the innovating spirit which is every where fo apparent, than to retard this bill.

My lords, I lament as much as any man, the religious differences and bigotry which have been the fources of the calamities of this country, and have retarded the nation in its advances to profperity:-religious bigotry produced the rebellion

in the reign of Elizabeth, the rebellion in 1641, and the rebellion in 1688, which the right rev. prelate has stiled a political error, and not a rebellion; and I will not helitate to fay, that religious bigotry is even now as rank in this kingdom as it was at any of those periods, and that the lower papifts of Ireland are as fuperstitiously attached to the pope as the people of Spain, Portugal, or themost bigotted of his own subjects. I do not mention it as any difference to them; on the contrary, it redounds much to their honour to be attached to their religion; and I must say, that I wish, in this instance, they had been imitated by those who profess the protestant faith. Let us look to past times, and to other countries; let us turn our eyes to all Europe, and fee the use catholics have every where made of dominion; fee whether in any of the states of Germany, where the reformed religion early obtained, it has ever been found possible to unite protestants and catholies, so as to agree in the exercise of political power; it has never been the case; - the experience of ages, and the truth of history is against the fact. The arguments that have been urged in support of the catholic claim of admission into the state, is, to me, a fubject of the most ferious alarm; in no country in Europe has the protestant religion made so flow a progress as in this, and yet this argument, extraordinary enough in itself, and fall more fo for coming from a right rev. prelate, is offered to us, -that is to fay, that their adherence to the popula religion should induce us to open to them the power of the state. The reason of this slow progress of protestanism is very obvious to any man. At the reformation, this country was in a flate of barbarism, the English leaders in this country were catholics; and from the moment of paffing the act of supremacy, to which the nobility would not

not submit, there was excited a rebellion against the reformed religion and the act of supremacy, which was not quelled till the reign of James I. by the exertions of lord Mont-joye. One confequence of this rebellion was, the forfeiture of the whole province of Ulfter, where the king feetled a colony of protestants, and for whom his great object was to procure an afcendancy in the ftate; this he did by the creation of new boroughs; the catholics faw his delign; -in 1613, they refused to admit the members returned by those boroughs to vote for a speaker, and they even sent a deputation to England to remonstrate against this infringement on their power. And here, my lords, let me remark to you what I deem a curious circumflance, it is, that at the present time the defcendants of those very persons, of those protestant planters of Ulfter, (for whose protection thele boroughs were created) are the first to cry out for the demolition of those charters: and I will not hesitate to say, that if the protestants of this kingdom should be mad enough ever to confent to fuch a rash step, that they themselves will be the first victims of their own wretched policy. From this planting of Ulfter to 1641, the protoftants and catholics lived in apparent concord; they appeared to be incorporated with each other, but all at once the rebellion broke out, a rebellion first promoted by the court of Rome, dictated by that court, and fomented by that court for the extinguishment of the protestants, and the extermination of the English in this country; this rebellion ended in the ruin of all the great families of this country, and an almost total revolution of property. From hence to the time of James II. there was no disturbance in this country; but from the moment in which his conversion was declared, and his fending hither the earl of Tyrconne!

nel as his lieutenant, the old spirit broke out afresh, and one continued scene of persecution raged in this country until the landing of king William. And here it behoves us, as we are called upon to admit catholics to the legislative power, to fee the use they made of it in the parliament called by king James. The first act of this legiflature was to recognize king James, and declare their abhorrence of the prince of Orange, and his adherents. The rev. prelate has spoken of the adherence of the Irith to James as a political error, and that the English parliament had assumed a power of transferring this country; but I will tell him, that no English act was necessary for this purpose; -by an English law of Henry VII. the king of England is ipfo facto king of Ireland; and the moment William was acknowledged king in England, an opposition to him here was direct rebellion by the law of Ireland; fo that the right rev. prelate is altogether ignorant of the fundamental laws of the country, and the Irish act (of Gul. and Mar.) is but a recognition of that of Henry.

Having recognized James, there was introduced into the lower house a bill to repeal the act of settlement; it was passed through that house in three days, and sent up to this. In order to account for the acts of this house of commons, it is necessary to state, that circular letters had been written by the titular bishop of Clogher to the different returning officers, recommending persons, who were of course elected, so that there were not more than

five or fix protestants in the whole house.

In the house of peers there were many petitions presented against the bill; but such was the spirit of the time, that though above 600,000 acres were to be transferred by the effects of it, yet the owners were denied their request of being heard by coun-

to

fel at the bar against it—This act, therefore, received the assent of James, and was enforced by

troops immediately after it was passed.

Having disposed of the act of settlement, their next care was the protestant supremacy; but as the object of the day was to restore James to the English throne, an immediate repeal of this would have been a desperate experiment, and would hardly recommend him to England. An act was therefore passed that tithes should be paid by catholics only to their own pastors; the catholic clergy were allowed to fue for them in the spiritual courts; while this power was taken from the protestant minister, the act of Charles II. for the maintenance of the protestant clergy in towns, was repealed, and the protestant churches were converted into barracks. Having thus disposed of their property and their religion, they proceeded to the memorable act of attainder, by which thirteen hundred and five persons therein named and resident in this country, and fix hundred living in England, were attainted of high treason absolutely, and 2500 for corresponding with rebels, if they did not appear by a certain day; a clause was added, limiting the king's prerogative, that no pardon figned after a certain day should avail any of those persons. But the lord chancellor, Fitton, declared, care was taken that no person should benefit either by surrender or pardon, for the act was not promulgated until long after the days limited for fuch furrender or pardon. And having stated this, let me request the right rev. prelate to confider the state of the protestants in this country until they were restored by a British army; that even afterwards, they were in this country as a protestant colony amongst an hoftile people, paying, at most, a fullen and refractory allegiance--- and ask him, when he reflects upon their state at the time of the revolution, whether absolute.

absolute necessity did not oblige them to disarm those catholics; not only of offensive weapons, but of a more dangerous instrument, -political power? He speaks of protestant bigotry, and yet he may fee that the first act of the protestant parliament was to abolish the writ for burning heretics; -he fpeaks of English liberality, and yet he may fee that all the penal laws enacted in the time of William, were copied from English acts, and in many cases were relaxed from the rigour of the originals -and do not go near fo far. And here I do befeech you, my lords, to advert to the conduct of the English parliament of that period. Their object was to define the prerogative, to extend the power of the commons, and maintain the proteftant establishment; -they conditioned that the king should be a protestant, and that the state should be protestant. What would they have faid, had any one afferted that the king being protestant was a fufficient fecurity? Such an idea would have been ridiculous; they know that the great power of the nation lay in the parliament, and that while they wished to preserve a protestant establishment; it would be absolutely infanity to admit papists. into the parliament.

In the reign of William, there was no act paffed, trenching on the property of catholics in this kingdom. In 1703 a committee was appointed to confider the state of the nation, and their report was, that for the safety of the protestants, an union with the parliament of England was necessary—this design proved abortive, and the laws passed in this reign against catholics, were the effect of hard necessity, for self-preservation; and if we look into the journals of parliament, we will find them, from the reign of William to the end of Anne, silled with complaints from persons aggrieved and persecuted by the catholics, for the crime

crime of conformity. Upon these circumstances of necessity was founded that code of laws which has fo much injured this kingdom, which had for a long time leffened the value of landed property; but the protestants of Ireland were reduced to the choice of losing their property, or transmitting it to their children, faddled with those laws; and therefore; though it has been the fashion of late to abuse indiscriminately every act of our ancestors, let us always recollect that they were enforced to them by hard necessity. From the time of king William to the year 1745, there was, it is true, no attempt made by the catholics to disturb the country; but I know also, from the best authority, that this was entirely owing to the efforts and influence of a noble lord in the fouth, who often restrained their disposition to commotion and infurrection and especially in 1745. A noble earl has alluded to the supposed opinion of lord Chefterfield; but I will read you his avowed opinion in his speech from the throne in this year:

"The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater effect; however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing surther can be done, either by new laws or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society, did not both require and au-

thorize restraint."

The lord chancellor then proceeded to state, that the unquestioned loyalty of the catholics had authorized several relaxations in their favour; that they had been grateful for those relaxations, and relied on the generosity of parliament, for 3 B 2 further

further favours; that the claim of right, and the tone of demand, was taken up in consequence of a dispute between themselves, in which the moderate and rational catholics were overpowered. He adverted to Dr. Troy's pamphlet, which afferts the infallibility of general councils as a fundamental principle of their religion. He then read the decrees of some of those councils against heretics and heretical princes.—He mentioned the powers assumed by the popish convention, of levying taxes upon their community for defraying the expences of their claims and proceedings, which, were they fair, just, and open, required no such support. He wished to resist further innovation, and forefaw, in granting more than the present bill gave, a total separation from England, or an union with her—each to be equally dreaded.

The archbishop of Cashel said he had not, when he came into the house, intended to trouble their lordships with a single word in the present stage of a bill containing fo much various matter; he had determined to referve his opinion for the time when it should be in committee, where every lord would have leifure and opportunity to adopt fuch part of it as he might think advantageous, and reject what appeared injurious to the country; but a right rev. prelate, for whom, personally, he entertained the higest esteem, had run out into such a violent and unwarrantable strain of invective against their lordships' ancestors, against the ancestors of all the protestants of Ireland, against the protestant government, against the truth of history, and against the protestant religion itself, that he felt it his duty, as a very unworthy member of the protestant church (considering the situation he possessed in it) to stand up in defence of the protestant ancestry of their lordships, and the other protestants

protestants of Ireland, in defence of truth, in de-

fence of the protestant religion.

The right rev. prelate, in his declaration, had charged the protestants of Ireland, that, through an intolerant, persecuting, and bigotted spirit, and without any just ground of necessity, they had enacted many fevere and oppressive laws against the roman catholics. There are, faid his grace, few subjects on which it would become me to challenge any man in debate, but on the ground of truth, and in support of the religion I profess. I will meet any man living, and I call upon every noble lord that hears me, to stand forward, and refute whatever unfounded affertion he may think I may make, while I prove that the church of Rome has never once departed from any tenet that she ever maintained; and that the laws passed by our forefathers, for the fecurity of the protestant religion, were laws of absolute necessity.

His grace, after stating that a general council of the roman catholic church with the pope at its head, has always been, and now is deemed infallible in its decrees, began with the fourth general council of Lateran, in the 13th century, and proceeded downward almost to the present times, shewing from their decrees, that the church confiders it meritorious to extirpate heretics, i. e. perfons not of the popula communion. The decrees of the council of Lateran are in these words:-All deniers of this or any other of the catholic doctrines, shall be excommunicated and punished by the fecular arm; all persons suspected of such doubts, unless they shall within a year clear themfelves, shall be deemed heretics; all princes and persons entrusted with secular power, must swear to extirpate heretics, and if they refuse shall be excommunicated, and if they shall continue disobedient for a year, the pope may expel them from from their dominions, and give their power to

any other.

Let us now see what use the popes have made of these decrees, and we shall find that the right rev. prelate was mistaken, when he said the laws against roman catholics were not laws of necessity, but of wanton choice.

Every one knows that Henry VIII. lived and died a papist; that though he pretended to be a protestant, he never attempted to suppress popery in his realm, but merely suffered the state to become protestant; yet for this pope Paul IV. excommunicated him, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and commanded all christian princes to make war upon him. As to the reign of queen Mary, in charity to the roman catholic church, and because he would not aggravate its crimes, the archbishop wished it might

be for ever forgotten.

During the first ten years of Elizabeth, no act of feverity whatever was passed against roman catholics, the was a true protestant herself, the loved her religion for its truth, and the endeavoured to inculcate it into her people by reason and perfualion; for this pope Pius V. excommunicated her, absolved her subjects from allegiance, and gave her dominions to any christian prince who would take the trouble of conquering them. Soon after this followed the Irish rebellion, and then the Spanish invasion, both instigated and both blesfed by the pope, and after this are we now to be told that the law against men paying a blind and unlimited obedience to the fee of Rome, were laws of wanton choice, arifing from religious bigotry and a spirit of persecution, but not from necessity; as to James the Ist's time, he mentioned a fact admitted by every historian: - Garnet just

the Jesuit, when at the place of execution, and just going to leave the world, declared, "that there was a band of catholics who were "bound together by an oath, never to cease or "abate in their exertions till they had extirpated "every heretic from the nation."

For what concerned the Irish massacre in the reign of Charles the I. he quoted Hume, an author generally supposed not unfavourable to popery. "The Irish every where intermingled with the English, needed but an hint from their leaders and priefts to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion. and envied for their riches and prosperity-the houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English were first seized; those who heard of the commotion in their neighbourhood, inftead of deferting their habitations, and affembling together for their mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus feparately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, the most barbarous that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations, an universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless and paffively refigned to their inhuman foes,-no age, no fex, no condition was spared! The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke, the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm underwent a like fate and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight fave from the first affault, destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn; in vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends, all connection was dissolved, and death

was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored, without provocation, without oppofition; the aftonished English living in profound peace and full fecurity, were maffacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

And now, refumed his grace, my lords, I call upon you to know whether this will not vindicate our ancestors, and shew that they were through hard necessity compelled to defend themselves by laws against roman catholics, and not through wanton choice, or perfecuting bigotry. The noble lord on the woolfack, who has gone fo fully and fo ably into this subject; who has left scarce. ly any thing unobserved or slightly handled, has just, mentioned Fitton-a man who once disgraced that feat, to which the virtues and abilities of the noble lord add dignity and splendor. Let me give you the character of Fitton: He was a man of the most infamous and profligate life; he had been twice convicted of perjury, once at Westminster and once at Chester; but he was a bigoted popish priest, and this was a sufficient recommendation to James the fecond to make him the keeper of his conscience; and if ever the day comes, which God forbid! that you shall consent to let papifts into the efficient powers of the state you may happen to meet with another Fitton. Your ancestors struggled hard to maintain the protestant constitution, which has been traduced in a most wanton manner; your lordships, I trust, will never defert it, but transmit it unimpaired to your posterity.

My lords, there is no man entertains a more perfect good will to every roman catholic in the world than I do ;-if his religion is dangerous to

state, it is his religion and not the man that I attack; but where men profess a religion hostile to the state, the efficient powers of the government should never be surrendered into their hands.

His grace having apologized for taking up fo much time on a subject to which he had no idea of speaking when he entered the house, said there was one circumstance to which he begged their?

lordships attention.

About the year 1774, some benevolent gentlemen, members of the other house, (particularly the late Mr. French) wishing to put the roman catholics on a better footing than they then were, consulted with the principal persons of that perfualion, and an oath was framed, by taking which they declared themselves ready to testify their fidelity and allegiance. This oath was fent into England and France, and into Spain, where being approved of, the roman catholics expressed great impatience to have it inferted in an act of parliament; accordingly it was inferted in an act of the 13th and 14th of the King :- See the effect of it, in four long years, notwithstanding the impatience of these gentlemen, of three millions of loyal fubjects, but 1531 were found to take the oath. Did the protestants reproach them for this? No; the protestants were not perfecutors; on the contrary, in 1778 the work of indulgence began, and ceased not till in almost every point relative to property, they were put on a footing exactly equal with protestants. These advantages were all granted on condition of their taking the oath of the 13th and 14th of the King; yet in 1792, fourteen years from the time, no more than 12,073 had done fo; altho' in the purchase and demise of lands they were put upon an equal footing with protestants, and although the oath was their own.

His grace proceeded to remark on a passage of Dr. Troy's pamphlet - and other writings in which there were these doctrines-" that there was falvation for "no man who died out of the church." "That the "people are enflaved when the fovereign declares " himself the head of the church." He hoped that the roman catholics held no fuch doctrines, nor would be have spoken of them if he did not think that they attacked, unprovoked-

ly, the constitution in church and state.

In committee he should not say a fingle word on the bill, further than declaring that there was no civil right which he was not as willing to give to papifts as to any other class of subjects, provided that it could be done with fafety to the state. He would give them the free possession and exercife of their religion which they enjoyed-and he would do the fame thing with the Turk, the lew. and the Mahometan—for there was no reason why a man of any religion should not be tolerated, if he was a good subject in the state. He repeated that in the point of civil rights, acquisition and fecurity of property, and liberal education, he would go as far for the roman catholics, as any man in the nation.—But he never would give political power to men who might use it to dangerous purposes -Let me perish in support of this opinion, fays his grace, like a good prieftand not as their church would infinuate, like a brute beaft.

The Bilhop of Killala replied to some matters which had been thrown out in the preceding part of the debate. As to transubstantion he never could differn that it rendered the person who believed in it abad subject, a less courageous soldier or a worse neighbour. With respect to infallibility, for his part, he could never afcertain where it lay. Whether it lay in the pope, in a general council,

council, or in a general council with the pope at the head of it. But the imputation of this belief of papal infallibility to the roman catholics, had assumed the error which it condemned and thought itself infallible though no one acknowledged it. He concluded with observing that he would not justify cruelties committed on one side by those committed on the other—and passed a warm eulogium on the catholics as a loyal, honest, and deserving body of subjects.

Earl of Farnham read that part of the lord lieutenant's speech which contained the recommendation of his majesty to consider the situation of the roman catholics, and to act towards them with, wisdom and liberality. His lordship was of opinion that every thing which weakened the protestant interest injured the constitution—and expressed himself at some length hostile to the principle of the bill, chiefly, from what we could hear of its giving political power to the ro-

man catholics.

The Bishop of Cork declared that on anoccasion so important, the public had a right to expect the reasons of every noble lord for his votes He should flate his. They were all agreed that every man had a right to worship his God in the mode which he might think proper, provided he could do fo with fafety to the state. The only difference, therefore, was, whether they could proceed to the extent of the bill with fafe-ty to the protestant establishment. He conceived that the concessions to be made to the roman catholics were founded in the liberality and wifdon which had been recommended from the throne, and that the bill would put an end to a dangerous union of three millions of fubjects who were not permitted to participate in the constitution

constitution. But the strogest argument for

the measure at present was-necessity.

His lordship drew a picture of England preceding 1641, when the king was so elevated that he might look down upon the reft of Europe fcourged by war-but a fform gathered in the Northand how foon were the royal family and all involved in ruin. This he in a masterly manner contrafted with the disturbed state of Europe at prefent—from the noise of arms and the influenza of republican principles-alking, if they would not give the advantages of the conflitution to men who were at all times ready to support it with their blood and property? When they should give them the contents of the bill what elfe would there be left for any other power to beltow? "I " shall vote for the committal of the bill, (fays his "lordship) not because it is supported by gover-" ment, but because it is called for by loyalty—by " policy-by necessity-and by religion."

Lord Dunsary in reply to the lord chancellor and the archbishop of Cashel, observed, that they might as well have omitted their history of popish councils, particularly that of Lateran, for they were now neither read nor regarded. As to the pope and his supposed infallibility as head of the church, he was certain that the roman catholics thought no more of him than their lordships did of their door keeper.—Considering the roman catholics as loyal and meritorious subjects he should give his support to the bill with great satisfaction.

The lord chanceller and his grace the archbi-

thop of Cashel explained.

The bishop of Killalæ rose to state his motives for his conduct on the question before their lord-ships. He should vote for the committal of the bill because he conceived it to be an act of justice to the long-tried loyalty of the roman catholics, and because

because it was now necessary to the safety of the

protestant religion as by law established.

The penal laws might have been originally neceffary for the fecurity of the protestant government-and the conduct of the roman catholics for half a century, had canfed them to be treated as vanquished enemies .- But the offending generation had passed away, and the clauses which called for these penalties, had long fince closed .- There was no pretender to the crown—there was no fovereign supporting any such claim.-With respect to the dispensing power, which had been mentioned, it was denied by all the popilir prelates in Europe. - If fuch a doctrine had been once made. pride might prevent a renunciation of it, though it had fallen into contempt.—Accustomed as the roman catholics were, however, they would give every fecurity to government, that could bind their property or conscience.

His lordship was aware of the argument; is there no danger to be apprehended from the concession?—Rebellion was said to stalk abroad through the country.—But to this he should oppose the danger of invasion by an atrocious enemy, who avowed the principle of establishing their own government in every other country, to unite all ranks of the people against the progress of republicanism.—He should vote for the committal of the bill, and he declared that he had no other motive for giving his vote save that he believed it in his soul to be necessary to the interest and safe-

ty of the protestant establishment.

Lord Westmeath expressed his intention of voting.

for the committal of the bill.

Lord Clifden avowed that the bill had his hearty concurrence.

Lord Blaney spoke a few words to the same effect.

The

The Duke of Leinster rose to express his happiness that the bill was likely to go into committee. He should say nothing to the speech of the chancellor, though he difagreed with it in many parts, as his lordflip had mentioned that it was not his intention to oppose the committal. The noble lord had faid that there was no state in which the proteftants and catholics were united in a system of government.—His grace adduced the republic of Swifferland, in which fome cantons were governed by protestants-some by catholics-and some by protestants and catholics together. He looked upon protestant and catholic as one and the fame person, provided they were honest and good neighbours. He forebore to flate his only objection to the bill at length, which was that it did not exempt the roman catholics from all disqualifications in toto.

The Lord Chancellor then put the question on the committed of the bill for Friday next, which

passed nem: diff .- Adjourned.

FRIDAY, March 15th.

The house according to the order of the day, resolved into committee on the roman catholic bill.

Lord Ranelagh in the chair.

The first clause being read,

Lord Clonmell rose and observed, that by extending the benefits of this bill to that body of his majesty's subjects for whose relief it was framed, under the simple appellation of roman catholies, a door would be left open for ambiguity, litigation, and chicanery, as all the penal laws now in force were directed against them specifically, by the appellation of "Papists, or persons professing the Popish Religion."

His lordship mentioned a case to which he had been witness at the assizes of Cork, where a man was indicted for carrying arms, as a person professing the roman catholic religion; but the prosecution failed, as it was not proved that the man was seen at mass, or receiving the facrament, according to the rites of the popish religion.

His lordship stated this to shew, that by the niceties of legal construction, and the ingenuity of lawyers, distinctions might be made which would defeat the roman catholic in the benefits intended

lawyers, distinctions might be made which would defeat the roman catholic in the benefits intended by this bill; and he therefore thought it necessary, in order to remove every possibility of misconstruction or litigation, that the words—" papists, or persons professing the popish religion," be pressived to the words roman catholics, not only in this, but in every clause of the bill, where the body of people, for whose benefit it was intended, were described by the appellation of roman catholics. In this amendment, his lordship disclaimed the slightest intention of any offence to the roman catholic body, for whom he professed respect and esteem.

His grace the archbishop of Cashel supported the amendment and its principle, and thought it would be ridiculous, for the sake of an ideal delicacy in the language of the bill, to lay open the people for whose relief it was intended, to chicanery, or to be lamboosled out of their rights.

Lord Dillon was of the fame opinion, and thought the amendment materially necessary; a distinction between papists and ROMAN CATHOLICS was held, his lordship said, even in all the catholic countries of Europe and in France, the former sect had been distinguished by the appellation of Les Ultra Montagnes

Lord Clonmell's amendment was unanimously adopted.

The

The clause being read which concedes the elective franchise to the roman catholics, on the same footing with the protestants, it was opposed by

Lord Ennishillen, who rose to give it his decided negative; and he did so, not from any enmity to the catholics as individuals, but from apprehension of danger, in yielding to them so much power, as

a political body.

An idea had been thrown out by a noble lord that this bill should pass the house in silence and without debate; this was with his lordship another motive for speaking his sentiments openly and decidedly on this subject, and he concluded by

moving that the clause be expunged.

The Lord Chanceller spoke in the defence and support of the clause, and opposed of course the motion for its expunction. His lordship agreed that this clause contained the very principle and essence of the bill, and that to reject it would be to defeat every object, both of the catholics and the legislature.

Another reason why his lordship should be extremely delicate of meddling with this clause was, that it only concerned the rights of the house of commons—and to a principle, on this head, in which they themselves had agreed, his lordship thought it not the province of the house to inter-

fere.

Lord Farnham also supported the clause on a

fimilar ground.

The archbishop of Cashel said, he should not vote against the clause, because it seemed to contain the leading principle of a bill, originally recommended by his majesty, framed by his ministers in this country, approved by the other house of parliament, and generally accorded to as the sense of the people without doors; but at the same time,

he was not without apprehensions their Lordships would hereafter repent what they were now about to concede, and find when too late, they had given too much to retain any thing, and that the power now conceded to the Roman catholics would render every remaining restriction idle and nugatory. That power would naturally extend itself, and then their Lordships would ere long find the benches in both houses of parliament thronged with Roman catholic members. However, his Grace would not set up his opinion, against what seemed to be the sense of government, of parliament, and the country, and therefore, he should vote for the bill altogether.

Lord Mountjey perfectly coincided in the principle of granting to the holders of landed property, the political influence of the elective franchile, and on this ground he was most decidedly for agreeing in the principle of the clause, by giving the Roman catholics the elective franchife; neither did his lordthip fear from it any danger to the protestant intereft, as things were circumstanced. Protestant landlords being chiefly owners of the foil-interest, which is the common impulse of mankind, would of course prompt the catholic freeholder to vote for his landlord. That class of men would never become politicians, unless their landlords taught them; and hence it must be obvious that so long as the landed property of the country remained in proteftant hands, fo long must the balance of elective franchife be with the protestant interest. But whenever the foil changed mafters, and the balance of landed property came into catholic hands, it was not unreasonable that influence should follow.

The differences in this country held the elective franchise for that century in which the catholic were deprived of it. No men more attached than they to power and influence; yet though they outnumbered the protestants most considerably, did their elective influence fill the lower house with dissenters?

Dad

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The contrary was decidedly obvious, for there was at this time but four differents in the house of commons.

His lordfhip was, however, decidedly against conceding the franchife to 40s. catholic freholders, not from any kind of enmity towards, or diffidence in the catholic body, but from a firm perfualion grounded on his personal experience of the very great embarraffment it must create in populous counties, upon contested elections. It fell to few of their lordships' turns to experience the difficulties of contested elections: but he would mention many infrances, one, in a county in Ulfter where he lived, and where there were but 1,400 freeholders, and yet on the last general election, fix weeks were employed in polling this number, and during this Saturnalia, markets and manufactures were neglected, and all manner of industry and business were at a stand in that county.

Another instance his lordship mentioned of an election for the county of Galway, upon the merits of which he had been unfortunate enough to serve on a committee, when member of the other house; and though there were but 800 voters, the election which had occupied that county for three months, occupied the deliberations of the committee six months. What then must be the consequence of a bill that went to encrease so considerably the number of electors in each county? Nothing less than the absolute necessity of repealing the octennial bill, for the whole eight years existence of each parliament, would be too short for the investigation of

contested elections.

His lordship should for these reasons have wished the clause extended the franchise no lower than 10l. freeholds. He should not, however, oppose it in its present form.

The question was at length put, and carried for the clause, against lord Enniskillen's motion.

Aves Noes

The next clause of the bill which excited any debate of note was, that which goes to qualify 1ot. freeholders, or catholics of rool, perfonal property. to keep arms in their houses for their defence.

The Lord Chancellor opposed this arrangement, and though willing to put arms into the hands of the 10l. freeholders, his lordship thought that a man's personal property of rook did not put him on the fame footing, and the qualification of perfonal property should be at least 300l. To give a man arms who held a real property was but reafonable, for his defence; but to put arms in the hands of men who had no property, would be only to induce them to murder each other, and rob their neighbours; confequences, which his lordfhip felt, were to be apprehended in the county where he refided, where the men of one village warred against those of another, year after year, merely on account of what were called old grudges from one town or family to another, and who instead of cudgelling each other very well, as they now usually do, if fire-arms were put into their hands, would proceed to murder. His fordship therefore moved by way of amendment, that the fum of 300l, be inferted, and that of 100l. expunged.

This amendment, after fome conversation, in which lord Bellamont, lord Dillon, the archbishop of Cashel, lord Portarlington, lord Carleton, the marquis of Waterford, bore parts, was carried on

a division, 30 against 21.

The next debated clause was, that which goes to enable the Roman catholics to accept military employments.

Lord

Lord Farnham, in a speech of some extent, argued, that until a law similar to the present, was passed in England, catholic officers could not attend their regiments, if ordered on duty into England. His Lordship was therefore for amending the clause by wording it so as that a Roman eatholic should not be eligible to a military commission in Ireland, until the principle was adopted by a similar law of England, which would render the brave and loyal catholic eligible to military service in any part of the British empire wherever exigency might call him.

The Lord Chanceller opposed the principle of this amendment; the clause merely went to enable the catholics to accept a military employment; but it could not be supposed his Majesty would appoint a man to such a post, until the laws of the empire should fully qualify him to act in every part of it. It was more than probable a similar law to this would be adopted in England, before the lapse of two months, and on this ground, the amendment

would be wholly unnecessary.

The Duke of Leinster opposed the amendment as unnecessary, and wished to raise the bravery and prowess of the Irish catholic, attached to the service of his country.

Lord Bellamont supported the amendment, as tending to accelerate a law in England, similar to

the present.

After some further debate, the amendment was withdrawn.

The next debated clause was that of education, which enabled the catholics to become professors in any future University to be established in this country.

The Lord Chancellor confidered this as the most important clause in the bill; for by affociating the youth of both classes in their education, the strongest

principles

principles of union could be cultivated; and his idea was, that, although it would be highly indecent for any house of parliament to meddle with the charter of the present Trinity College, which by the will of the founder was established peculiarly for Protestants, yet his idea was, that any future College to be founded, should not be for Catholics exclusively, but open both to them and Protestants, and to admit indiscriminately fellows and professors of both religions.

His Lordship expressed his most sincere wishes to unite the people of this country in interest and affection, and he conceived the most effectual mode of doing this, was to unite them in early friendships by educating them together. He was therefore, for annexing, any future College for their education, under the head of the present University, to be subject to no controul from the Vice Chancellor, Fellows, or Visitors of Trinity College, but to have

fuch officers of their own.

The clause was carried, and the remainder of the bill gone through, under a desultory system of remark, but without any material amendment, and ordered to be reported on Monday next, to which day the house adjourned.

Monday, March 18.

Lord Ranelagh reported the bill with its amendments, which being agreed to, it was ordered to be engroffed.

Wednesday, March 20.

The bill was read a third time, passed, and returned to the Commons; and on TUESDAY THE oth OF APRIL 1793, THE BILL RECEIVED THE ROYAL ASSENT.

BUTIS OF 92

WINDSELDS

